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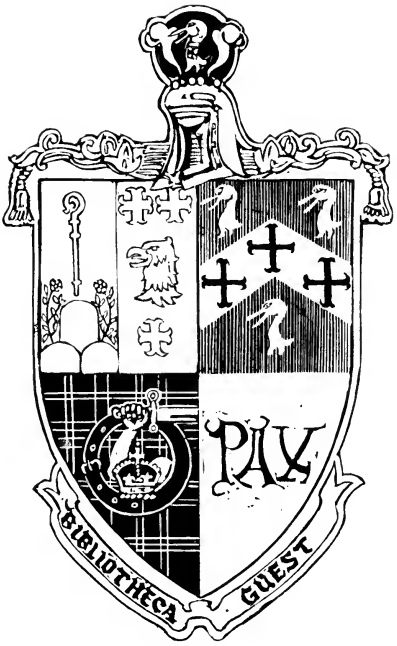

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TEWKESBURY ABBEY RESTORATION.

THE works for the Restoration of this noble National Monument are now in active progress, and as a considerable sum is still required to enable the Committee to continue them, CONTRIBUTIONS ARE EARNESTLY REQUESTED TOWARDS THE RESTORATION FUND.

Donations, *or Subscriptions extending over a term of years*, will be thankfully received by Sir E. A. H. LECHMERE, Bart., Rhydd Court, Upton-on-Severn; or by the Treasurer, C.W. MOORE, Esq., Avon Bank, Tewkesbury.

Copies of Sir G. G. SCOTT's Report, Plans of the Abbey, and further information, may be obtained on application to FREDERICK MOORE, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

TEWKESBURY ABBEY

W. NORTH
139 HIGH STREET, TEWKESBURY

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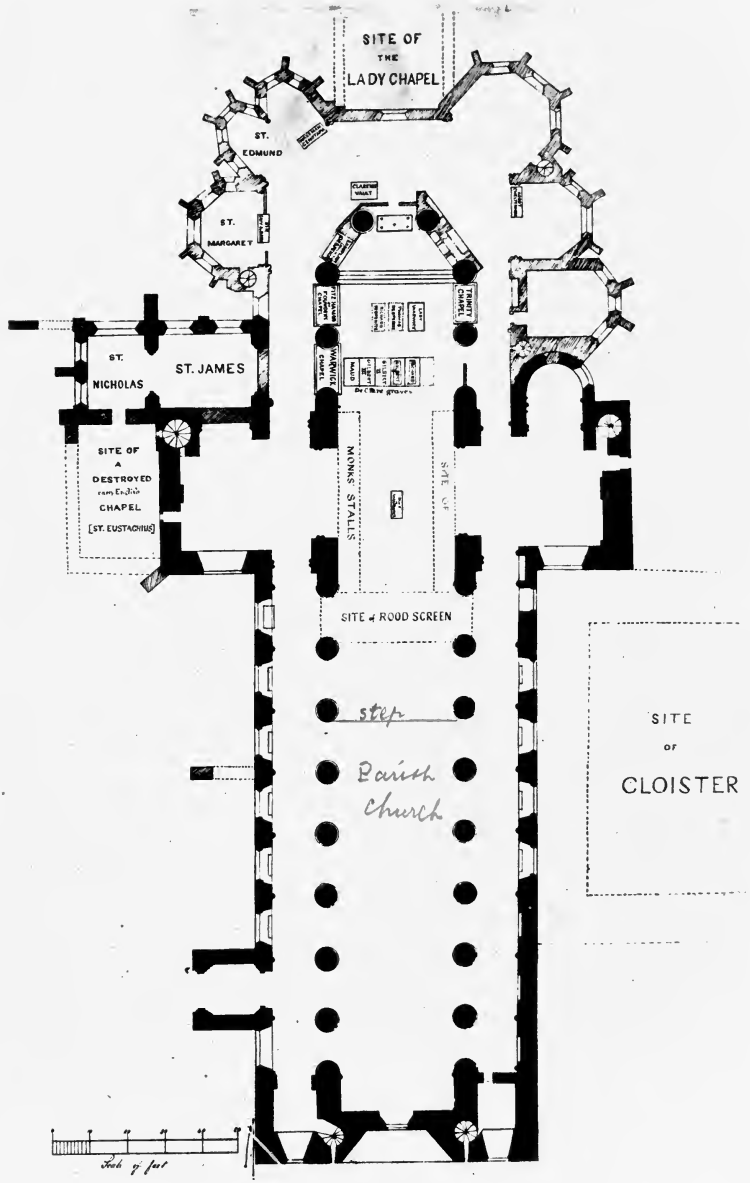

Heliotype.] GROUND PLAN OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

TEWKESBURY ABBEY

AND

ITS ASSOCIATIONS

BY

JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A.

RECTOR OF BEVERSTON, GLOUC.

LONDON : SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.

TEWKESBURY : W. NORTH

1875

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TO

SIR EDMUND ANTHONY HARLEY LECHMERE, BARONET,

RHYDD COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE.

Dear Sir Edmund Lechmere,

As it was at your suggestion that I undertook this little work on Tewkesbury Abbey, I beg permission, now that it is completed, to offer it to you as the zealous Chairman of the Committee to which the restoration of the beautiful Church has been entrusted.

That your zeal in so good a cause may be fully responded to, and that you may thus have the satisfaction of seeing the fine old Minster revive in such beauty as that with which its Mother Church at Worcester has been made resplendent, is the hearty wish of

Your very faithful servant,

JOHN HENRY BLUNT.

BEVERSTON RECTORY:
Easter, 1875.

PREFACE.

THE materials for the history of Tewkesbury Abbey are but scanty in quantity. They consist chiefly of an early Register and Cartulary, and of a small compilation written in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and also entitled a Register.

The first of these Registers has been published among the 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages' which are printed by the authority of the Master of the Rolls; and it forms the second portion of the first volume of the 'Annales Monastici,' edited by the Rev. H. R. Luard, under the title 'Annales de Theokesberia.' The original manuscript from which it is printed is preserved in the Library of the British Museum [Cleopatra A. vii.], and consists of about 180 small quarto pages, written in various hands of the thirteenth century; 120 pages being occupied with the Annals, and the remainder with the Cartulary. These 'Annals of Tewkesbury' give a short memorandum for each year of occurrences connected with the Monastery, or affecting its interests; and many of the memoranda are of further interest as bearing on national history. The work begins with the Conquest, in 1066, and breaks off abruptly in 1263—ten years before Edward I.

came to the throne, and about the time of Richard de Clare's death. But there are few details given of the first century and a half, and five-sixths of the space occupied by the annalist is taken up with the record of events between 1220 and 1263. The details recorded during this last half century are rarely, however, of such a character as to be interesting to ordinary readers; and little light is thrown by them on the history of the Church and Monastery.

The other document referred to is of a much more interesting character. It is a small quarto MS. of 68 pages, entitled 'Registrum Theokusburiæ,' and belonging to the library of Sir Charles Edmund Isham, of Lamport, Northamptonshire,[1] to whose courtesy the author and the reader are indebted for the use of it in the compilation of

[1] On the vellum cover of the MS. is a memorandum in these words: 'This MS. belongs to Sir Justinian Isham, Baronet. Tho. Hearne, Feb. 3, 1732–3.' Lower down is one of earlier date: 'Jonathan Trask and Henry Dresser ad Tho. Philipps pro 45*s.*' The former memorandum is explained by the following extract from Hearne's MS. diary, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. [1733] 'Feb. 5. Monday. Saturday last, Feb. 3, Mr. Euseby Isham put into my hands, being lent me by his brother, Sir Justinian Isham, a little 4° MS. in paper, in which are many pictures, or figures, of persons and arms, done with a pen but not coloured, which is intituled *Registrum Theokusburiæ secundum originale examinatum.* It is very fairly written, and seems to be about the time of Henry VIII. or Edward VI. Two leaves, at least, at the beginning are cut out; what they contained, or whether they were only blank, does not appear. The present book, as it is, is folio'd, beginning with 1, 2, etc., by the original hand, and ends with 34. But folio 30 is torn out, and after 34 four leaves, at least, appear to have been cut out. Though it be called *Registrum*, yet it is only an extract from some Register. It begins, *Uxor vero Haywardi Meawe*, which shows that in the original Register other things preceded. It is the *libellus*, or at least a copy of the *libellus*, made use of by Leland in his Itin. vol. vi. p. 60. I delivered it back to the Rector of Lincoln Coll. to-day in the afternoon, putting it into his own hands at Lincoln College.'

the present volume. This very curious MS. is wholly written in imitation of Italic type, and looks at a first glance like a printed pamphlet. It is ornamented with the quaint initial letters of the time, many coats of arms, and twenty-two pen-and-ink drawings of the founders and patrons of the Abbey, from 'Oddo and Doddo' to the Duke of Warwick. The writing seems to be of about the date 1540–50. The first fourteen pages are occupied with a summary of the foundation and endowments of Tewkesbury; the remainder—beginning 'Temporibus illustrissimorum principū Etheldredi et Ethelbaldi, regum Marciorū'—consists of short biographical notices of the Earls of Gloucester, and other patrons of the Abbey. The MS. breaks off abruptly in the middle of the Duke of Warwick's Life, and it was evidently never finished, for the last folio is only written on one side, though the catch-word for the other is inserted.

In the British Museum Library there is a MS. of the early part of the sixteenth century, which is evidently copied from the same original as the Lamport volume, and perhaps by Leland himself. It begins at 'Temporibus,' etc., and is brought down to the time of the battle of Tewkesbury, and is entitled 'Chronica de fundatoribus et de fundatione Eccliæ Theokusburiæ. Quæ fundata fuit primo Aō Gratiæ Dni, DCCXV. per Duces Marciorum.' [Cleopatra C. iii. ff. 220–238.] This Cottonian manuscript is printed in Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' ii. 59–65, Ellis's ed., and is translated, but very loosely, in Atkyns' 'History of Gloucestershire,' under the article 'Tewkesbury.'

Good use was made of this last MS. by Bennett in the compilation of his 'History of Tewkesbury,' and that work is entitled to great respect as one of the best volumes of

local topography that had been written before the modern development of archæological studies.

In the little volume now in the reader's hands the author has had the advantage of using what his predecessors have written on the same subject, and also the light thrown on it by recent discoveries. Among the most remarkable of the latter may be mentioned the identification of the De Clare and Despencer graves, and the exhumation of many fragments of their effigies from the site of the altar, which seem to have formed part of a reredos, and which are evidently the originals of the pen-and-ink drawings in Sir Charles Isham's manuscript Register. But after endeavouring to exhaust every source of information about the Abbey Church and the Monastery, the author is obliged to print what he has gathered with an expression of regret that it is, after all, so incomplete an account of a foundation once so important and extensive. He can only hope that his labour of love may be the means of attracting further attention to the Abbey, and of stimulating inquiry as to records that may still be hidden in public or private libraries.

The heliotype illustrations of the tombs are copied, by permission, from the admirable steel plates in Neale and Le Keux's 'Views of Collegiate and Parochial Churches.' The three plates representing Dukes Oddo and Doddo, Fitz-Hamon and his wife Sybil, and the deathbed of Lady Warwick, are fac-similes (rather smaller in size) of drawings in Sir Charles Isham's manuscript. For the plans of the Choirs of Westminster and Tewkesbury at page 118 the author is indebted to Sir George Gilbert Scott, under whose talented guidance the careful and conservative Restoration of the Abbey is being carried on.

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TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

Of our twenty-eight cathedral churches only eighteen, and of our minsters which are not cathedrals only three—Westminster, St. Alban's, and Beverley—exceed in size the illustrious and beautiful abbey of Tewkesbury. It comes next in dimensions, among all our great churches, to the Cathedral of Hereford, than which it is just two yards shorter and one yard narrower.[1]

The fabric of the existing church was chiefly constructed in the reign of Henry I., the earliest quarter of the twelfth century; but the upper part of the choir was reconstructed in the middle of the reign of Edward III., about which period also the chantry chapels were added to the east end.

Down to the time of the Reformation, the abbey church formed part of a Benedictine monastery; successive generations of that learned and industrious order of monks

[1] The comparative dimensions of these churches may be estimated as follows:

	Area
St. Alban's	31,140 feet
Beverley	29,600 „
Hereford	26,850 „
Tewkesbury	26,000 „

The interior length of Tewkesbury Abbey Church is 286 feet 6 inches, the breadth from wall to wall is 70 feet 6 inches, and the height of the vaulting from the pavement is 58 feet.

having had their home on the spot as far back as the time of the Mercian kings. But the monks only used the choir, the space under the tower, and the easternmost bay of the nave; and the body of the nave itself was used, time immemorial, as the parish church of Tewkesbury. When the monastery was dissolved in 1539, Henry VIII. sold the monastic portion of the church to the town, and confirmed their immemorial right to the nave, and thus the whole of the magnificent building became a parish church, the largest in England except St. Alban's and Beverley.[1]

Ten generations have passed away since the dissolution of monastic foundations, and during that time there have been few persons who cared to see our minsters preserved in their original condition,—fewer still who understood them. Tewkesbury Abbey has, however, fared far better than some others which were given up for the use of the towns in which they were situated. At Malmesbury and Shrewsbury, nothing but the naves of their noble abbeys remain; at Pershore only the choir; but Tewkesbury has been preserved at least as carefully as our cathedral churches. Its grandeur has indeed been despoiled by the destruction of all the conventual buildings; its external proportions have been injured by the lowering of the roofs, its interior beauty has been marred by the wanton damage of monuments, the erection of clumsy galleries, and the substitution of whitewash for colour; but the transepts and the eastern portion of the church remain perfect as well as the nave, and the main fabric has come down to our time in a state of such excellent preservation, that it is still possible to restore to it much of its ancient beauty. At the same

[1] The Bishop of Worcester attempted, in 1242, to take away from the abbot and monks of Tewkesbury the right of appointing vicars of Tewkesbury, and of St. James, Bristol, but this attempt was successfully resisted, and the vicars of these two churches were appointed by the chapter of the abbey down to the time of the Reformation.—['Annals of Tewkesbury,' *ad ann.* 1242].

time, there is some satisfaction in knowing that there are no objects of interest belonging to the more recent history of the church which need at all suffer by such a restoration, there being room enough and to spare for the monuments of the last three centuries, as well as for those of earlier times.

The noble abbey, as it has thus come down to our day, presents several distinct claims to notice and interest, apart from its historical associations. Its western front is principally occupied by a lofty receding arch, of a character seldom to be seen in English churches, and only surpassed by the arches of later date in the west fronts of Lincoln and Peterborough. The nave and its aisles are constructed in the same style of simple grandeur which is so conspicuous at Gloucester, Peterborough, St. Alban's, and Durham. The central tower shows how the Norman architects could introduce abundance of ornament consistent with their massive work, when they considered it desirable to do so; while if it were not for the twin cousins that grow out of the rocks at Durham, it might be called unique. The choir and its crown of chapels form as lovely a termination to the view of the interior as is to be found in any English minster. The church is also very rich in beautiful monuments, and in monumental stained glass.

Our interest in ancient buildings is, however, greatly enhanced by an acquaintance with the historical associations that have gathered around them in past ages. If the walls of Tewkesbury Abbey could tell us what they have looked down upon without and within, they would speak of many a noble and princely household, as well as of cloistered monks; of the broad events and interests of national life, as well as of the narrowed interests that pervade a religious community. Tragedies and sorrows would occupy an unusually large space in such a narrative, and nearly the last chapter of it would be one which would tell how the best blood of England was poured out like water, almost within

the morning shadow cast upon the ground by the house of peace.

So complete a story of the life that has been associated with Tewkesbury Abbey cannot now be told, but a few particulars of it can be drawn out of the highways and by-ways of documentary evidence and historical tradition; and those who appreciate the present beauty of the church, and are interested in its reviving glory, will be pleased to add even those few particulars to the knowledge which really can be gathered from the stones themselves.

The Earliest Foundation of Tewkesbury.

There have been many conjectures as to the time at which the first of our long-ago ancestors came to settle themselves at Tewkesbury. One will have it to have been a British town in pre-historic days; another identifies it with a station of the Romans, called 'Etocessa,' a name which he supposes to be taken from its conjectural British predecessor 'Etocisceu,' the 'meeting of the waters'; a third considers that it was a town of Anglo-Saxon foundation, named 'Dukes' Bury' from 'Dukes Odo and Dodo'. But the commonly received account, which probably contains the substance of the truth about the matter, is that handed down to us in the ancient Register or Chronicle of Tewkesbury mentioned in the preface.

From this mediæval history it appears that the first Christian church at Tewkesbury was a small building erected by an early missionary monk named Theoc, whose time is assigned to the latter part of the seventh century, about two generations after the conversion of the southern Saxons by St. Augustine of Canterbury. 'In the year 655,' says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'the Mercians became Christians,' being evangelised by St. Chad of Lichfield and his associates. But the country around Tewkesbury lay far away from that part of Mercia in which these holy men

revived the almost extinguished Church of England, and Theoc[1] was probably one of the old race who crossed the border and set up his missionary hut on the western bank of the Severn, in a country only just beginning to be settled again after the devastating wars between Briton and Saxon. There, in the place which he chose for his mission, he would build such a chapel of wood as Paulinus had built for the first church of York a few years before [A.D. 626], a church, like it, to be soon changed for a 'white' or stone building, by the zeal of the newly converted Saxons. The life and teaching of a saintly missionary would also so endear him to the people around, as to make the place of his hermitage and church a religious centre for the district; a village would spring up on the spot, and though all personal history of Theoc has passed into oblivion, his name is held in perpetual memory by the name of the town, Theoc's Bury or town, now softened into Tewkesbury.[2]

The Anglo-Saxon Monastery.

The mediæval chronicle goes on to narrate the development of Theoc's hermitage into a monastery as follows. 'In the times of the most illustrious princes and kings of Mercia, Ethelred and Ethelbald' [A.D. 675–755], there flourished two noble dukes, named Oddo and Doddo; members of an illustrious family, and eminent in themselves for their great virtue. But what was more still to

[1] The name Theoc is generally found in the Latinised form Theocus, but it is plainly an ancient British name. Ten years before the mission of St. Augustine, in the year 586, Thadioc, or Thadiocus, bishop of York, was driven into Wales by the Saxon invasion; while the names of St. Petroc and St. Cadoc occur among those of British saints of the seventh century. Caradoc was later.

[2] The town of Bury St. Edmund's acquired its name, originally St. Edmund's Bury, in a similar manner, through veneration for the saint whose name it bears. 'Theokusburia' is the common Latin form for Tewkesbury among mediæval writers.

their honour, they devoted themselves to the spread of Divine worship, and living and honouring God before all things, they worshipped Him themselves with sincere devotion. Their zeal for the worship of God was indeed shown by their deeds, for moved by the Holy Spirit they and their predecessors had built many magnificent monasteries, and endowed them with much land, for the increase of divine service and of the monastic life.

'These two noblemen, among their other acts of piety and charity, founded in the year 715, a monastery, to the glory of God, and the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on their own estate near the Severn, seven miles distant from Gloucester, in the place where a certain hermit called Theocus—" unde Theokusburia "—had made his abode. They granted the manor called Stanway, with its members, and other smaller possessions, towards the maintenance of the monks, who were not more than four or five in number, that they might live a life of religion under the government of a prior, according to the rule of our father St. Benedict.

'The bodies of these noblemen, whom we fully believe to have been translated to heaven for their good deeds, lie buried in the church of Pershore, which they had enriched with many possessions, and where Oddo had put on the monastic habit. They had a certain brother named Almeric, whose body was buried at Deerhurst, in a little chapel over against the gate of the priory. This chapel was formerly part of a royal palace, and there they show an old tomb even to this day, with an inscription over the gate, that " Duke Dodo caused this royal palace to be consecrated as a church to the honour of the Virgin Mary, on account of the love which he bore to his brother Almeric. " '

Then the writer goes on to add that there is no certain account as to those who had the right of patronage of the monastery for many years after; war desolating the country for two centuries, until its seven kingdoms were all

brought under the authority of one sovereign in the time of King Athelstan.

But circumstantial as this account is, there can be no doubt that the chronicler was entirely mistaken as to the time at which the alleged founders of the monastery lived, and as he ends his account of the early days of the monastery by exhorting any one who may discover the facts more certainly to substitute their statements of them for his,[1] we may take the liberty of following his exhortation. Bishop Gibson records, in his notes to his edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' which he published in the year 1695, that 'in the year 1675 Mr. Powell dug up in his orchard at Deerhurst an old stone with this inscription:[2] 'Odda Dux jussit hanc regiam aulam construi atque dedicari in honorem S. Trinitatis, pro anima germani sui Elfrici quæ de hoc loco assumpta. Ealdredus vero Episcopus qui eandem dedicavit 2 Idibus April., 14 autem anno Regni S. Eadwardi Regis Anglorum;' *i.e.* Duke Odda commanded this royal palace to be built, and to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity for the soul of his cousin Elfrick which was parted from his body in this place. But Ealdred was the bishop who consecrated it on the second of the Ides of April, and the fourteenth year of the holy King Edward.'"[3]

Now the name Dudda occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as that of an earl who died in A.D. 833; and again in a grant made by King Ethelwulf in the year 840,[4] and Odda, duke of the province of Devon in 875, is

[1] 'Si quis certius aliquid inquisierit, deleto incerto, quod fuerit, memoriali scripto relinquatur.'

[2] The inscription as given by the mediæval writer of the chronicle is, 'Hanc regiam aulam Do dux consecrari fecit ecclesiam ad honorem beatæ Mariæ Virginis ob amorem fratris sui Almarici.'

[3] Camden's 'Britannia,' (ed. 1695, p. 244). The stone is now among the Arundel marbles at Oxford.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs' 'Councils,' &c., iii. 246. There was also a Dudda bishop of Winchester in the eighth century.

mentioned by Ethelward, a descendant of Ethelwulf, in his chronicle, when writing about the wars between King Alfred and the Danes. But the Odda of the Tewkesbury Chronicle and of the inscription is evidently the one mentioned as living and dying in the time of Edward the Confessor by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 'And the same year,' A.D. 1053, 'died Elfric, Odda's brother, at Deerhurst, and his body resteth at Pershore.' 'This year,' A.D. 1056, 'died Odda the earl, and his body lies at Pershore, and he was ordained a monk before his end: a good man he was, and pure, and right noble. And he died on the 2nd of the Kalends of September,'[1] that is, on August 31st. His character is given in similar terms by Florence of Worcester, who says under the year 1056: 'Earl Agelwin, that is Odda, the cherisher of churches, the entertainer of the poor, the defender of widows and orphans, the overthrower of tyrants, the guardian of virginity, died on the 2nd of the Kalends of September at Deerhurst, having been made a monk shortly before his death by Aldred, bishop of Worcester. But he was buried in the monastery of Pershore with great ceremony.'

There is evidently, therefore, some error in the statement that the monastery of Tewkesbury was founded in the year 715 by Odda and Dudda, whose brother was commemorated by an inscription at Deerhurst. Perhaps the chronicler has mixed up two traditions, one relating to benefactions given to the monastery by Odda or Agelwin, earl of Mercia, the 'cherisher of churches,' in the eleventh century; and another relating to an event which occurred three centuries earlier, the foundation of the monastery by an Earl Dudda, (whose name is probably perpetuated in that of the hundred in which Gloucester is situated,

[1] Another version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by Dr. Ingram, says that 'Odda, who was also called Agelwin, was appointed earl over Devonshire, over Somerset, over Dorset, and over the Welsh, in 1051.'

[*Heliotype.*

From Sir Charles Isham's Copy of Tewkesbury Register.

'Dudda's-ton,') in the year 715.[1] And some confirmation is given to the statement that this was the time of its original foundation by the fact that this date marks the generation in which the neighbouring monasteries of Gloucester, Pershore, Evesham, Malmesbury, and Bath, were all founded; the earliest of these, Malmesbury, dating from A.D. 675, and the latest, Evesham, from A.D. 706.

But in the Register of Tewkesbury, 'Oddo et Doddo, duo duces Marciorum; et primi fundatores Theokusburiæ,' are duly represented by two knights in armour, with mantles and surcoats, the latter bearing the cross engrailed on a field of gold, standing on either side of a pomegranate tree on which is a shield with the same arms, and each of them carrying a church in his hand to show that he was a church-founder. Both of these churches are cruciform, but while one has a round embattled tower and spire, the other has a square tower and a square, leaded, broach spire like that which Tewkesbury possessed in the middle ages.

The next incident in the history of Tewkesbury Abbey which is recorded by the chronicler is associated with a domestic tragedy, of which the history is given at some length by Bishop Asser, in his life of his friend King Alfred.

Berthric, or Brictric, became king of the West Saxons, (the inhabitants of the district now known as Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Dorsetshire,) in the year 784, and three years afterwards married Ethburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia—the district now known as the Midland Counties, and of which Gloucestershire was the southern portion. 'As soon as she had obtained the king's affections,' says Asser, 'and with them nearly the supreme control of the realm, she began to play the tyrant like her father, execrating every man whom Berthric loved, and doing all

[1] Leland's 'old manuscript' stated that Odda and Dudda died in the year 725; a statement which looks as if traditions respecting one of them had been applied to both as a matter of course.

things hateful to God and man. She accused before the king all whom she possibly could, and thus craftily deprived them either of power or life; and if she could not obtain her object from the king, she destroyed them by poison. It was notorious that she acted thus towards a young man who was a great favourite with the king; for when she could not succeed in her accusations she removed him by poison. It is also related, that King Berthric himself unknowingly partook of the poison, though the queen had not intended to place it in his way; but he and his favourite both drinking of it, they both perished.' The chronicle does not narrate these circumstances, but says that on the death of Berthric, in the year 800, his body was buried in the chapel of St. Faith in his priory of Tewkesbury, by a great earl of the Mercians, named Hugh:[1] and that Hugh himself, being its patron, was buried in the same priory in the year 812. Leland adds that the tomb of the latter was to be seen in his time, on the north side of the nave of the present church; and possibly some memorial of this earl of Mercia may still exist among the inverted stones that occur here and there among those of the modern pavement.

A romantic story is told of Queen Ethburga, that after her husband's death she was obliged to leave England, and went to the court of Charlemagne. As she stood before

[1] William of Malmesbury says that he was buried at Wareham in a chapel where other kings of Wessex lay, and there is a chapel of St. Faith at Wareham; but as he says nothing of Earl Hugh, the more circumstantial Chronicle of Tewkesbury is probably correct.

The arms which at a later time were attributed to the kings of Wessex—the cross patonce between five martlets, more familiar as those of Edward the Confessor—are extant in the Abbey as the arms of Joan d'Acre, daughter of Edward I., and wife of Gilbert de Clare, 'the red' earl of Gloucester.

A figure of 'Hugo magnus dux Marciorum' adorns the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, but he does not wear a surcoat, nor are any arms otherwise shown in connection with his portrait.

his throne and made him many presents, the emperor bade her choose which she would have, him or his son, who stood beside him. Ethburga had the good taste, or the bad taste, to say she would prefer the prince, because he was the younger. Then the emperor, smiling, told her that if she had chosen him he would have given her his son, but as she had rejected him she should have neither. He made the widow an abbess instead of a wife; but not long afterwards he was obliged to banish her from his dominions, and after a disgraceful life, Ethburga died in wretchedness at Pavia; where, in her latter years, this English queen had begged her bread from day to day.

For the next two centuries nothing is recorded respecting Tewkesbury. During those ages, the country was distracted with the wars between the English and the Danish invaders; and the chronicler has only to say, that the several generations of monks who inhabited the priory were often driven out of their home, while the priory itself was twice destroyed by fire, a fate which happened to the abbey of Gloucester, also, during the same period. The country between Bath and Worcester was, in fact, the great battle-ground on which the issue was fought out during so many years, by Alfred and the Danes; and the last great and crowning victory of the English king in 893 was gained at a place about five miles from Tewkesbury, in the parish of Boddington, and which is still known, from the burial mound of the slain, as The Barrow.

It was probably in consequence of these frequent misfortunes that Tewkesbury for a time lost its independence, and became subject to the abbey of Cranbourn in Dorsetshire. A small college of secular priests had existed at Cranbourn from very early times, and this was converted into the Benedictine Monastery of St. Bartholomew, in the latter part of the tenth century, by a noble personage, whose name is handed down to us by more recent writers, as Haylward de Meaux, or Haylward Snow, a descendant

of King Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred the Great; his wife Elgiva taking part also in the foundation. This 'Haylward' appears to be the same as Elward or Ethelward, one of our early chroniclers, who compiled a charming little history of England for the information of his cousin Matilda, the wife of a German duke. In this history he gives his cousin's genealogy as fourth in descent from Edward the Elder, the son, and his own as fourth from Ethelred the Elder, brother and predecessor of Alfred the Great. He also styles himself, 'Fabius Ethelwardus, Patricius, Consul et Quæstor,' the Latin title 'consul,' as he himself explains in another place, representing that of the English 'earl.'

Having founded his monastery at Cranbourn, Ethelward, who was patron of Tewkesbury (no doubt as earl of Mercia), made the latter a dependent cell of the former, a relationship of the two establishments which was exactly reversed in the next century, but which shows that Tewkesbury did not, at that time, occupy so important a position as it had done when Earl Hugh had made it the burial-place of a king. 'Haywardus Meawe et Algiva uxor eius' are represented in the register of Tewkesbury, as a knight and his lady sitting at either end of a grassy mount, and holding a cruciform church, with a round embattled tower and spire between them. The knight's surcoat bears a fess between six martlets, on a field of gold.

Earl Ethelward was one of those who fell in the great and decisive battle fought between Edmund Ironside and Canute at Assendune or Ashdown in the year 1016, and was buried at Cranbourn Abbey. 'There were slain in this battle,' says Florence of Worcester, 'Ethelward the earl, son of God's friend Ethelwin earl of the East Angles, and almost all the English nobility, who never sustained greater loss in battle than on that day.'[1] Some of the early pages

[1] The arms attributed in later times to the kings of East Anglia—the three crowns familiar as the arms of the bishops of Ely—are found on shields in the Abbey.

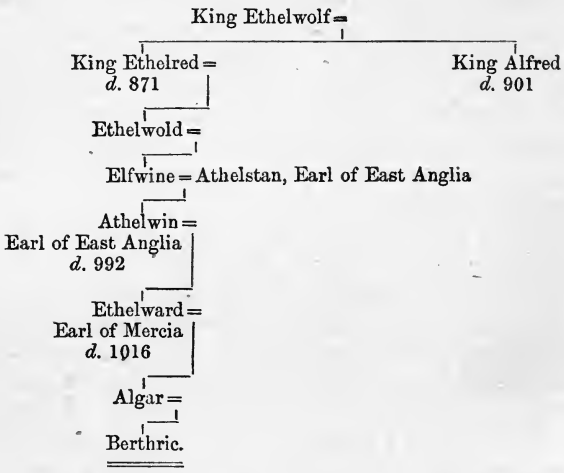
of the Isham Register, which have never been printed, refer to Cranbourn, and state that 'Haywardus' was buried there, his wife Algiva surviving him and devoting herself to good works. A list of ornaments and relics bestowed upon Cranbourn by her is also given.

But in the contest which brought about the death of Earl Ethelward almost as many of the English nobility sided with Canute as with Edmund, and among the former was the earl's son, called by Florence, 'Algar the son of Meawe.' It was at the palace of the Mercian earls at Deerhurst, the possession of Algar, on the death of Ethelward or 'Haylward Meawe,' that Canute and Edmund entered into that treaty which brought peace to England until the Conquest. Canute and his army encamped upon the eastern, that is, the Deerhurst, side of the Severn, and Edmund on the western side, and each king went in a fishing-boat to an island called Olanege or Olneye which is now nothing but a low-water shoal. There Edmund challenged Canute to decide their quarrel by single combat, but the prudence of the Dane prevailed, so that 'there they agreed and swore to be at peace, and in friendship, and in brotherhood, and the kingdom was divided.' A few months afterwards, however, King Edmund died in London and was buried at Glastonbury, and thus Canute became sole sovereign of England.

Nothing further is known of Earl Algar or of his association with Tewkesbury, than that through him the patronage of both it and Cranbourn descended to his son Berthric, called in the chronicle Britricus Meawe, Lord of the honour of Gloucester, who, like the king of the same name, became the victim of a woman's vengeance, and who was the last Anglo-Saxon lord of Tewkesbury. The story of Berthric's fall is a very singular one. In his earlier days he was sent on an embassy to the Earl of Flanders, and while at that court he attracted the affections of the earl's daughter Matilda to such an extent, that the lady adopted the very

unusual course—perhaps it was leap year—of offering herself to him in marriage, his direct descent from a king of England placing him we may suppose on an equal footing with the daughter of an earl of Flanders.[1] With all the courteousness that an English gentleman, and all the tact that an ambassador, should show, Berthric declined the lady's proposal; but tact and courtesy could not heal a woman's wounded pride, and Lady Maud became his enemy for ever. Before long she made a higher matrimonial flight, and in 1053 became the wife of William, Duke of Normandy. The eventful year 1066 made her queen of England, and then came the hour of her vengeance. With the king's authority to back her—did she tell him her motives ?—Matilda caused the former object of her indiscreet favour to be seized in his chapel of Hanley,[1] about

[1] The descent of these last Anglo-Saxon lords of Tewkesbury was as follows :—



[1] In another part of the chronicle he is said to have been seized at his manor of Hanley, no mention being made of Cranbourn. Hanley

three miles from Cranbourn Abbey (where he had perhaps fled for sanctuary), on the very day of her coronation, and had him conveyed a prisoner to Winchester. All his lands were then made over to the angry queen, and he himself died miserably in prison shortly afterwards, leaving no son or daughter to inherit her vengeance and his misfortunes. Thus Tewkesbury passed from its old English lords of Saxon line to that line of new comers, the Normans, who were soon to become as thoroughly English as their predecessors in the high places of the land.

It was during the time of Berthric that the good Earl Odda's brother Elfric died at Deerhurst [A.D. 1053], and that Odda himself died [A.D. 1056]; both being buried at Pershore. Neither the manor of Tewkesbury nor the patronage of the abbey belonged to Earl Odda, and as Deerhurst was crown property in Edward the Confessor's time and at the Conquest, he most likely resided at Deerhurst in a royal mansion as Earl of Mercia, as the Wardens of Dean Forest had St. Briavel's Castle for their residence, and as the Wardens of the Cinque Ports now live at Walmer Castle.[1] He may have been a benefactor to Tewkesbury while Algar and Berthric, the son and grandson of a former earl of Mercia, were lords of the manor of

Castle, a few miles from Tewkesbury, was certainly a manor of the lords of Tewkesbury not long after.

[1] A monastery existed at Deerhurst in the time of Bede, and St. Alphege, the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, had been one of its monks; but it was destroyed by the Danes. The inscription before noticed seems to show that Earl Odda revived it in memory of his brother. But at the Conquest the priory of Deerhurst was made a cell of St. Denis, and it was eventually seized as an alien priory by Edward III. Then it was granted to Eton College, but was afterwards exchanged for Goldcliffe Priory, and thus became the property of Tewkesbury Abbey, in whose possession it remained till the Dissolution. The 'farm of the scite of the Priory' is down in the rent-book of the visitors at 133*l.* 16*s.* 10¾*d.*; and John Bromesgreve, prior of Deerhurst and bachelor of divinity, 'received a pension of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the office being apparently an honorary one.

Tewkesbury and patrons of the Abbey. And as Berthric's lands were comprehended under the name of the 'honour of Gloucester,' it is not unlikely that an earldom of Gloucester had been taken out of the earldom of Mercia at some time preceding the Conquest, though the title is not distinctly traceable till the reign of Henry I.

However this may have been, it is certain that Queen Matilda—'a woman,' says William of Malmesbury, 'who was a singular mirror of prudence in our time, and the perfection of virtue'—held the honour of Gloucester which had been Berthric's during the remainder of her life; and when she died in the year 1083 it became merged in the crown. It is not recorded that Tewkesbury Church ever benefited one groat by her majesty's possession of its patronage. But at the time when the secular manor of Tewkesbury came into her hands the ecclesiastical manor of the Abbey was estimated as 24½ hides—that is nearly 3,000 acres—of land, the rental of which is reckoned in Doomsday Book at 20*l.* to 24*l.*, a not inconsiderable estate.

THE REBUILDING OF THE ABBEY BY FITZ-HAMON AND EARL ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.

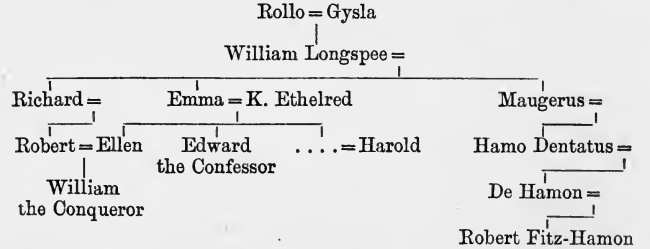
During the four centuries of its existence before the Conquest, the church of Tewkesbury does not appear, however, to have been one of much importance among the monastic foundations of the country, being overshadowed, perhaps, by the royal monastery of Winchelcombe, and that of Gloucester. But on the death of Queen Matilda in April, 1083, the honour of Gloucester again reverted to the crown; and although her husband retained it until his death in 1087, it was granted directly after that event by their son William Rufus to one of those Norman noblemen who in some degree redeemed the iniquities which accompanied the early Norman rule by the magnificence of their ecclesiastical foundations. This was Robert Fitz-Hamon, Lord of Astremeville in Normandy, who had married a niece of William the Conqueror, and who himself had the blood of Rollo in his veins, being his great-great-great-grandson, and second cousin, once removed, of the Conqueror.[1]

Fitz-Hamon acquired a very large and territorial estate on the Welsh border, in addition to those lands which had hitherto formed the honour of Gloucester. For in the year 1091 he led a body of troops, commanded by himself and twelve other knights, to the assistance of Jestin, prince of Glamorganshire or of South Wales, against Rhys ap Tudor,

[1] The genealogy as given in the Register of Tewkesbury is curious. It is as follows:

prince of Caermarthen and Cardigan. The expedition having succeeded, Fitz-Hamon and his knights demanded the reward which had been agreed upon; but their ally refused to carry out his agreement, and being challenged to single combat by Fitz-Hamon, was slain; the victor taking possession of Glamorganshire, giving large grants of land to his followers, and seating himself at Cardiff. Henceforward this foreign lord, who had come to England as out-at-elbows as the rest of the 'Frenchmen,' adopted a royal style which shows how large a territory he owned, calling himself 'by the grace of God, Prince of Glamorgan, Earl of Corbeil, Baron of Thorigny and Granville, Lord of Gloucester, Bristol, Tewkesbury, and Cardiff; Conqueror of Wales, near kinsman of the king, and general of the king's army in France.'

Tewkesbury Priory was at this time in a condition of ruin and decay, notwithstanding the alleged benefactions of Earl Odda so short a time previously; and Gerald, the abbot of Cranbourn (of whose monastery it had become an



William 'the Bastard' is said to have been born to 'Elena' a sister of Edward the Confessor and of Harold's wife, before marriage, and to have been afterwards legitimated by marriage, inheriting the crown of England in right of his mother. 'De prædictis rege Ethelred et Emma regina sc̄tus Edwardus confessor et rex Angliæ, qui habuit duas sorores: quarum unam Haroldus duxit in uxorem . . . . noīe, et per alteram sororem Elenam nomine Robertus sc̄dus dux Normanniæ genuit Willmū bastard extra matrimonium, qui Willm̄us postea legitimus fuit per sequens matrimonium. Prædictus Willm̄us bastard postea ex parte matris suæ fuit Conquestor et rex Angliæ.'

insignificant dependant) conceived the plan of reviving it in greater splendour and importance than it had ever possessed before. He therefore went to reside at Tewkesbury, taking with him several of the monks, and had been carrying out his plans for three years, when the place became of much more importance still through its connection with so great a territorial magnate as Fitz-Hamon.[1] It is also said that Fitz-Hamon himself was anxious to make some kind of restitution for the destruction of the church and city of Bayeux, which Henry I. had burned as a punishment for the imprisonment of Fitz-Hamon. If this were so, however, it must have been an afterthought, as Bayeux was destroyed in the year 1105, when Tewkesbury Monastery, though not its church, had been built for three years.

In whatever way the re-edification of the church and monastery had been suggested, it was undertaken in a noble spirit worthy of church-builders. No work of an earlier date is to be found in the present church, but that of Fitz-Hamon still forms the substantial part of the fabric. We must therefore conclude that the older buildings were entirely cleared away, and a new one raised from the foundations. Gloucester,[2] and perhaps Pershore, were

[1] Abbot Gerald was the son of a Norman gentleman of Brienne, the original home of the Clares, and the town from which Sir Guy de Brien took his title. The writer of the Register says that as a young man Gerald showed great intellectual power, but that learning the truth of our Lord's words, 'No one is without honour except in his own country,' he came over to England in the time of William Rufus, and attaching himself to Hugh Lupus, the earl of Chester, became his chaplain. Afterwards he was chaplain to Walchelm, bishop of Winchester, and then became a monk of Winchester. William Rufus appointed him Abbot of Cranbourn on the strong recommendation of Archbishop Lanfranc and St. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury.

[2] The Norman Minster of Gloucester was begun in the year 1089, and dedicated in the year 1100. Pershore was probably erected at the same time by Abbot Thurlstan, who had been a monk under Serlo, the great abbot of Gloucester, in whose time the present church was built.

already offering examples of what churches were to become under the hands of Norman architects; and the three structures are so similar in plan, that perhaps the same architect designed them all. His name has not come down to subsequent ages, but we look on his noble works with an almost reverent respect for the unknown man who brought them into existence.

The plan of Fitz-Hamon's church was that of a cross, with three apsidal terminations at the east end. The long limb of the cross was the present nave, with its aisles and western turrets; the transverse limb was formed by the central tower and the two transepts, each of which had an apse on the eastern side. The shorter limb of the cross was formed by the existing choir and an aisle surrounding it, which followed the same apsidal form as the transepts, but on a much larger scale. The cruciform church is said to have been first introduced into England by Edward the Confessor, when he erected Westminster Abbey, about the year 1050; the Confessor's church having also an apsidal choir with aisles. The bases of the pillars of this choir have been recently discovered, and one of them may be seen by opening an iron trap-door on the north west of the altar. This was the form, too, in which Durham Cathedral was originally built by Bishop Carileph, at the end of the same century, though the apses in that case were formed by the termination of the choir and its aisles. But Tewkesbury is the only large church in which the triple apse is still clearly marked, subsequent reconstruction and enlargement having generally substituted square for round-ended choirs. The form is extremely interesting, as showing a similar ground plan to that used for early churches, both in the East and in Europe; and we may still see in the apsidal choir, and in the one remaining transept apse of Tewkesbury Abbey, a link of association between the structures of Norman date and those which were built in the prosperous days of the Roman Empire.

The year in which Abbot Gerald and Fitz-Hamon began to build—with a monk named Alfred for the 'master of the works'—is uncertain, but so much progress had been made by 1102, that the monastery buildings became useable.[1] Abbot Gerald then removed from Cranbourn, and brought fifty-seven, nearly the whole, of the monks with him to Tewkesbury; Cranbourn Abbey being henceforth reduced to the rank of a priory, and left as a cell of the now Abbey of Tewkesbury with a prior and two monks to keep up the pious remembrance of its founder. From the year 1102, therefore, may be dated the monastic foundation represented by the present church. 'And it is not easy,' says William of Malmesbury, 'to relate how much Robert enriched by his favour the monastery of Tewkesbury; where the splendour of the edifice and the hospitality of the monks attract the eyes and captivate the minds of the visitors.'

Neither Fitz-Hamon nor the abbot lived, however, to see the completion of the church itself. The great earl was wounded in the head by a lance at the siege of Falaise, and after lingering for some months in a state of stupor, died on March 15, 1107. His body was brought over to England, and as the church was not yet in a condition for it to be laid in the usual honourable position assigned to founders, in front of the altar, it was temporarily buried in the chapter house, which stood on the eastern side of the cloisters.[2] From thence it was removed, a hundred and

[1] 'MCII. Hic primum in novum monasterium ingressi sumus:'—*Annales de Theokesberia.*

[2] A curious story is told of Robert Fitz-Hamon in connection with the death of William Rufus. 'It is reported that a little before the death of King William Rufus, a foreign monk attending the court upon some business concerning his monastery made relation to this Robert Fitz-Hamon, then a powerful man with the king, of a marvellous and terrible dream he had the preceding night, viz., that he saw the king come into a certain church, and with a proud and insolent behaviour despise those that were then present. Likewise that he took the

thirty-four years afterwards, to a place between the two middle pillars on the north side of the altar.

In the Chronicle of Tewkesbury there are the standing figures of 'Robertus filius Haymonis et Sibilla vxor eius,' holding between them a cruciform church, with a round embattled central tower. The surcoat of Fitz-Hamon bears a lion passant guardant on a gold field.[1]

Abbot Gerald seems to have fallen into trouble with Henry I., after the death of Fitz-Hamon. For having been originally a monk of Winchester, the annals of that church say that he left his abbey and returned thither in the year 1109, because he had 'neither the inclination nor the ability to satiate the king's avarice with gifts.' The Annals of Tewkesbury record that he died in 1110 (a few months before St. Anselm), and was succeeded by Robert, a chaplain of Fitz-Hamon, but they do not state whether or not he was buried in the abbey he had ruled.

The good Countess Sybil is said by the old chronicler to have survived her husband, and to have lowered herself by marrying a low fellow, to whom she bore sons and daughters; but his statement is mixed up with a stupid and unsavoury tradition about her lack of sons by Fitz-Hamon, which throws discredit on it. Of the four daughters she gave to Fitz-Hamon, Mabel the eldest was destined to

crucifix in his teeth, gnawed the arms of it, and almost pulled off the legs; and that at length the crucifix gave him such a kick with the right foot that he fell down in a sownd upon the floor, and there issued so much flame out of his mouth, that the smoak thereof, like a cloud, ascended up to the stars.

'Moreover that when he reported what the monk had told him, the king laughed heartily and said, "This is a monk, and he hath for lucre dreamed monkishly: give him five pounds that it may be seen he dreamed not in vain."'—Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 406.

[1] His arms are given on another page as quartering the Tewkesbury cross, and impaling the lion of Arundel; and it is said in the text that his wife Sybil was daughter of the earl of Arundel, and sister of Robert Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury.

[*Heliotype.*

From Sir Charles Isham's Copy of Tewkesbury Register.

marry a son of the king. This was Robert, the famous earl of Gloucester, who supported his sister, the Empress Maud, in her wars with King Stephen, and who was the son of Henry I. by Nesta, a daughter of the Prince Rhys ap Tudor, who had been slain by Fitz-Hamon. It was curious that the grandson of the slaughtered prince should marry the daughter of the man whose hand had killed him; but the match was made up by the king for the purpose of keeping Fitz-Hamon's lands out of the hands of strange husbands, and the story of the match-making is a quaint record of plain speaking in both king and lady. Thus it comes to us by the pens of the chroniclers Robert of Gloucester and Peter Langtoft.

'One of the grettest lordes of Englonde, except the kyng, was called Robert le figh Haym. For he lefte his bodi buried at Tewkesbury, for he rered that abbey hym selfe. He hadde a daughter and his heire called Maboly. Kynge Henry thoughte to marry his bastard son Robert to hir, and this gentille damyselle seide nay, that hitt were not fittynge to mary suche a man that bare no name but only Robard.'

'Sir, shee saide, ich wote your herte upon me is,
More for myne heritage, than for myselfe I wis;
And such heritage as ich have, hit weer to mee greet shame
To take a lorde, but he had any surname:
Damoseill, quoth the kyng, thou seest well in this case,
Sir Robert Fitz-Hayme thi fader's name was:
As fayre a name he shall have, as you may see,
Sir Robert le Fitz-Roy shall his name be.'

'Nay,' quoth she, 'what name shalle oure children bere betweene hym and me?' 'Par ma fey—

'Damoseill, he say'd, thi lorde shall have a name
For him and for his heires fayre without blame;
For Robert erle of Gloucester his name shall be and is;
Hee shall be erle of Gloucester, and his heires I wis.
Inne this forme, quoth shee, ich wole that all my thyng be his.'

'Then this damyselle thankede hym, and then the

marriage was done. And this was the first Erle of Gloucester.'

This Earl Robert was also one of the great church-builders of the age, being the founder of St. James's Priory at Bristol, which he made a dependant of Tewkesbury, and of Margan Priory in Glamorganshire. And that his father-in-law's good work at Tewkesbury did not slacken in his hands and those of Lady Mabel is shown by the statement made in the chronicle preserved by Leland, that 'he builded the great square stone dungeon,' *i. e.* the keep tower, 'at Bristoll, and the stones thereof came out of Caen in Normandy, and likewise the stones of the tower of Tewkesbury Church.'[1] His friend William of Malmesbury seems to have written only the truth when at the end of the 'History of the Kings of England,' he said to the earl, 'Your munificence and disregard of money is amply shown by the monastery of Tewkesbury, from which, as I hear, you not only do not extort presents, but even return its voluntary offerings. You must be well aware how noble such a proceeding is, more especially at the present time: how much it redounds to your glory among men, how productive of the favour of God.' Among his other good deeds the chronicle records the kindliness and hospitality which he showed towards the monastery by having the abbot and twelve monks to dine with him every Sunday.

The town of Tewkesbury had now become the residence of its lords, as it was for many generations afterwards. Either Fitz-Hamon or Earl Robert erected there what Florence of Worcester calls a 'magnificent house,' and there doubtless the earl and his wife were able to watch the gradual rise of the glorious church which they were building, as pillar after pillar grew upwards, until the nave was covered in with its roof of oak, painted like that of Peterborough, the choir with one of stone in simple massive groining; until the central tower with its interlaced

[1] Leland's *Itin.* vi. 85, Hearne's ed.

arcades was surmounted by a towering spire of wood, covered with lead, similar to that which rose above all other spires in the world before or since at old St. Paul's Cathedral; and until the interior of the building was duly fitted for monastic and parochial use, that the service of God might be offered there day by day with such surroundings of dignity, splendour, and beauty, as are befitting for acts of adoration in which churches below emulate in their humble way the Apocalyptic splendour of the church which sees face to face the Object of its worship.

Such progress of their noble work the Earl and Countess of Gloucester watched from year to year; for although their Tewkesbury palace was burned by King Stephen, this was not until 1140, seventeen years after the completion of the abbey; while a new one quickly arose from its ashes, perhaps even in the time of the good earl himself.

The Dedication of the Abbey.

For by the year 1123 the abbey was ready for consecration. It had taken twenty years to build, but—

> 'They dreamed not of a perishable home,
> Who thus could build;'

and when, 750 years afterwards, the modern architect attests that the fabric which they erected is in such sound condition as to need no expensive repair, we may well acknowledge that time and painstaking bear good fruit in building as well as in other matters.[1] The marvel is that

[1] The cost of a great church such as that of Tewkesbury may be illustrated by that of Hales, not far distant. Matthew Paris, the historian, says that he asked Richard, earl of Cornwall, how much he had expended on the Abbey of Hales. 'I have laid out,' he replied, 'ten thousand marks in the erection of the church only; and would to God what I have spent on my castle at Wallingford had been spent as well and as wisely.' The sum named would scarcely be equalled by 100,000*l.* of modern money.

so many of our national ecclesiastical buildings which were of equally durable character have been suffered by the nation to be utterly destroyed simply for private and most selfish interests.[1]

Little of such destruction has taken place, happily, in the case of Fitz-Hamon's church, though his conventual buildings have all long since disappeared. As we enter from the western door, or from the north porch, we look along the same arcade of noble columns that met the eyes of the crowds who witnessed the consecration of the church more than twenty-two generations ago; as we go forward in the pathway which the procession trod on that day we look up to the same lantern tower, though the spire after standing for four centuries, has long since succumbed to time: while in front of us as we stand there are the same enclosing pillars of the choir, and the very same spot upon which the altar stood is embraced within their compass.

The day of the consecration, as recorded in the 'Annals of Tewkesbury,' was November 20, 1123. The only bishop named there is the bishop of the diocese, Theulf, bishop of Worcester, and it was almost, if not quite, his last episcopal act, for he died a few months afterwards[2] The annals state, however, that Theulf was assisted by four

[1] The writer knew an old sexton who had actually blown up many parts of the glorious Priory Church of Tynemouth, with or without authority, that the stones might be sold by cartloads for building ship-owners' houses; the ship-owners being those who had become rich by selling worthless old ships for transports—coffins the soldiers called them—at enormous prices when the country was in its greatest need. Selfishness and plunder have marked all Puritan dealings with the church; private men enriching themselves, and founding families, with corporate, and therefore public, property.

[2] In Professor Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, the death of Theulf is dated Oct. 20, 1123, but the 'Annals of Tewkesbury' are likely to be correct as to the date of its consecration, and they also place Theulf's death in 1124.

other bishops, and the names of three of these are known from other sources to have been Urban of Llandaff, Richard of Hereford, and Gregory of Dublin.

On that early day in winter then—it is the 750th anniversary of it on which these lines are written—the grand and beautifully significant ceremonies of dedication or consecration were performed. All Tewkesbury, what there was of it then, had doubtless turned out for the festive occasion, and as the dedication of an abbey was an extremely popular spectacle, there would also be many sight-seers from Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Malvern, Winchcombe, perhaps even from Bristol, where the earl of Gloucester had made himself beloved by the gentleness of his character, so different from that of most brave knights in that rough and cruel age. One may hope, however, that as Tewkesbury is somewhat secluded the crowd was not so overwhelming as on another similar occasion, when the king and his attendants themselves had to assist in driving them back with swords and staves to make way for the officiating clergy.

All were assembled without the church, one solitary deacon standing within at the closed door of the grand porch. Then a great procession was formed in the cloisters, a stalwart monk for cross-bearer at its head, goodly esquires bearing the banners of the founders, singing boys in surplices, and singing men in surplices and copes, lay monks from many a neighbouring religious house in their several degrees, those of Tewkesbury following last, and last of them the venerable abbot, who, like the bishop, survived the day but a few months. Then doubtless came the earl and his countess, attended by many a squire and lady, and with them perhaps two other daughters of Fitz-Hamon, Cicely, abbess of Shaftesbury, and Avice, abbess of Wilton, each with such a retinue of nuns in white wimples as was fitting for dignified ecclesiasticesses. Last of all came the monastic clergy of the abbey, and those of adjacent houses,

the secular canons, the archdeacons and the deans, the attendant bishops with their chaplains, and the halting old father, Bishop Theulf, on whom the chief duty of the day rested.

Three times the procession wound its slow way around the outer walls of the church singing such psalms as 'Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered;' all the bishops as they went sprinkling the blessed water upon the building. Each time that the bishop of the diocese arrived at the porch again, the strain ceased while he knocked thrice at the door with his pastoral staff, saying, 'Lift up your heads O ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and let the King of Glory come in;' the response being heard like a faint echo from the deacon within, 'Who is the King of Glory?' At the third knock on the third arrival there, the doors flew open as the bishop gave the word, 'Even the Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory,' and he then headed the procession as it moved forward, chanting, 'Peace be unto this house, and to all that shall dwell therein.' 'Blessing be given unto them in their coming in and in their going out;' and all the people said, 'Amen.'

Then as the bishop came to the midst of the nave he found a few square yards of the pavement spread with white wood ashes. Upon these he wrote the alphabet twice with the end of his pastoral staff, first in Greek letters from the north-east to the south-west, and then in Latin from the south-east to the north-west, thus placing them in the form of a cross; signifying by this ceremony that all divine revelation was conveyed by the letters of the alphabet, and that the gospel comprehended under the shadow of the cross men of all nations, and peoples, and tongues. Time had been when three alphabets were written, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as the title upon the cross was written in those three tongues; but the Hebrew was early discontinued, probably because even bishops might not always be able to manage their Alpha Beta in that character.

Then followed many prayers, and the Litany sung in procession around the aisles of the nave and choir; and at last the bishop went up to the altar, sprinkling it with holy water to signify its cleansing for holy work, laying within a cavity of it some cherished relics of martyrs—they lived nearer to the time of English martyrs then than we do now—in token of Communion with the saints, and three fragments of the consecrated bread of the Blessed Sacrament in token of Communion with the King of saints.

Then was laid upon the altar the charter of Fitz-Hamon and of the Earl of Gloucester, sealed with their seals hanging down at the foot of the parchment; these deeds declaring that the church and the monastery were altogether alienated from themselves and their heirs, and dedicated for ever to God. Happily the time has not yet come when that dedication of property has been frustrated as regards the church itself; and England would be more blessed if other great churches, such as Winchelcombe and Tintern, had been treated with a like regard for their founders' intentions.

The ceremonies of the day would necessarily extend to considerable length, many psalms being sung by the choir, and many prayers said by the bishop. It need not be said that the Norman nobles spoke French only, and the common people only an English which the learned of the nineteenth century cannot understand without difficult study; but the Latin of the services was at that time a bonding language for many of all classes, and a larger number could follow the words of psalm and prayer in that tongue than could have followed it either in the native Welsh, the compound English, or the foreign French. And distant as that day of 750 years ago is from ourselves, we are united with it not only by the fellowship of the historic stones which compose the material church, but by the words of those psalms which have ever been on the lips of Christian people, and even (what some may be surprised to learn) by the

very tone and words of the prayers that were used. It will not be uninteresting to the reader to wind up this sketch of the dedication of Tewkesbury Abbey by a translation of one of the principal prayers which would be used during the ceremony.

At the Consecration of the Church.

'O Almighty Lord, and God of all holiness, whose loving-kindness is known from everlasting to everlasting; O God, who beholdest alike the things that are in heaven and in earth, keeping mercy for Thy people who walk before the face of Thy glory: Hear we beseech thee the supplications of Thy servants, that Thine eyes may be open upon this house day and night. Most pitifully hallow this church which is instituted with holy mysteries in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary; shining upon it with Thy mercy, and illuminating it with Thy glory. Receive graciously, we beseech Thee, every one who shall come to worship in this place, and look with Thy favour upon them. And whensoever any shall here pray unto Thee, be pleased for Thy great Name's sake to protect them with Thy mighty hand and Thy stretched out arm; to hear them graciously, and with Thine everlasting succour to preserve them: that they, ever rejoicing in true felicity and religion, may also ever go on their way with constancy in the Catholic faith of the Holy Trinity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'[1]

There is more unity than controversial people think between English churchmen of the nineteenth century and those of the twelfth.

[1] Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, iii. 682.

THE LORDS OF TEWKESBURY AND PATRONS OF THE ABBEY.

THE great work which had been done at the abbey by Fitz-Hamon and his son-in-law placed them in the position of 'founders,' and their descendants were thus brought into a close association with it which was maintained almost to the time when the monastery ceased to exist. They must have been among the most wealthy and powerful of the mediæval nobility; and one of their principal estates was the manor of Tewkesbury, which comprehended all the lands in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, as far as Hanley Castle, that did not belong to the abbey, or Barton, Manor.

These lords were also patrons of the abbey in the same sense in which the sovereign is patron of cathedral churches. No abbot was elected by the chapter of Tewkesbury without the *Congé d'élire* of the Earl of Gloucester or other Lord of Tewkesbury for the time being: and after the election the abbot was formally invested with pastoral staff and official ring in the same manner as the bishops thus received their temporalities from the hands of the sovereign. For two hundred and fifty years also the choir of the abbey was the customary burial place of the Earls of Gloucester and the later lords with their families. Their dust still lies beneath the feet of those who pass up to the altar; and the pavement was once rich with many a memorial of De Clare, De Spencer, and Beauchamp, whose names had been well known to their countrymen, and whose memories were dear to the people of Tewkesbury. Some of the

earlier of these memorials were effigies sculptured on Purbeck marble coffin-lids, such as may still be seen on the tomb of King John in Worcester Cathedral. Others were 'altar tombs,' surmounted by recumbent statues of alabaster, gilded and coloured into life-like portraiture, such as those which still repose on the north of the sanctuary. Others, again, were in the form of beautiful inlaid brasses, rich with enamel, the metal of which was of too much intrinsic value to escape the spoiler's hand in generations which valued these artistic and historical monuments only as they valued worn-out brass kettles. The blue marble slab in which the splendid brass of Maud de Burgh, the last De Clare's wife, was once inlaid, was brought to light when the pavement was removed for restoration, and part of another forms the threshold of the cloister door.

Abbot and prior and monk passed away, and seldom left even a name behind except in their now lost 'Book of Life,' though doubtless many of their names are inscribed in a more enduring Book of Life, for the roll-call of a future Day. But the lords of Tewkesbury, the earls of Gloucester, the De Clares, the De Spencers, the Beauchamps, were among the men who made the history of their country, and there are few of them of whom some particulars may not be gleaned respecting their association with Tewkesbury. We may therefore take their names as historical landmarks in following up the annals of the abbey for nearly four centuries after its refoundation by Fitz-Hamon.

Robert Fitz-Roy, first Earl of Gloucester.

Some particulars of this great man's history have been given in describing the continuation of Fitz-Hamon's work. He was born in 1090, being the son of Henry I., and of a Welsh princess named Nesta, daughter of the Tudor who had been slain by Fitz-Hamon. His wife was Mabel, daughter of Fitz-Hamon, and from them all the earls of

Gloucester were descended, though often by the female line. They are represented as 'Robertus Consull et Mabilia vxor eius' in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, sitting on two seats of state, and holding three churches in their hands. The one held between them is a noble cruciform church with a central tower and pinnacles, and seems to be intended for the Priory Church of St. James, Bristol, of which they were the original founders. Each holds in the other hand a smaller cruciform church with a spire. The earl is not in armour, but on the body of his cassock are emblazoned quarterly the three clarions or 'organ-rests,' his own arms, and the lion rampant guardant, the arms attributed to Fitz-Hamon.

This first earl of Gloucester is best known in English history for the part which he took in the struggle for the crown between his half-sister the Empress Maud and King Stephen. He and King Stephen were simultaneously prisoners in the hands of their respective opponents, and so great was the earl that both parties considered him a sufficient exchange for the king, though he himself refused to be exchanged on such terms. Eventually each was released from honourable captivity, and their release led to that better understanding between them through which the disastrous civil war was not long afterwards brought to a close, and the son of Matilda, 'Henry Fitz-Empress,' acknowledged as the successor of Stephen.

This earl of Gloucester died on October 31, 1147, at the age of fifty-seven, and his wife, Mabel, in 1151, the year in which Richard Cœur de Lion was born; the one thus living twenty-four, and the other twenty-eight years, after the consecration of the abbey. The earl was buried in the Church of St. James's Priory, which he had founded, at Bristol; but whether the Countess Mabel was laid there or at Tewkesbury is not known. The register of the abbey states that a tomb of green jasper was set up over his grave; and Leland describes it as standing in the midst of the choir

of St. James's Church, and as being 'a sepulchre of grey marble set upon six pillars of a small height.' It had been opened in Leland's time, and a parchment record found containing the earl's style, and the date of his death. A recumbent figure having his arms upon it, is still shown in the church as that of Earl Robert of Gloucester, but it probably belongs to one of the Grenvilles, a descendant of Fitz-Hamon, who died about a century later.[1]

The second son of this earl, named Roger Fitz-Count, was bishop of Worcester from 1164 until 1179. The year after the cruel murder of St. Thomas a'Becket, he was sent to Rome by Henry II., to declare that the king neither commanded nor desired the archbishop's death. In 1179 he went with the Archbishop of Canterbury to attend a council held at Rome, and died the same year at Turin, where he lies buried.

There were also three other children, besides the next earl, namely, Hamon, Philip, and Matilda.

William Fitz-Count, second Earl of Gloucester.

This was the eldest son of the preceding earl, but little is known of him, though he held the title for thirty-six years.[2] Yet, although almost everything respecting a person's individual history may have passed out of mind, it is often the case that some one incident is remembered which gives a permanent and indelible colour of character; and so it is that as regards Earl William, the incident which stands out from his forgotten life is one that suggests the pathos of an undying sorrow, the most pathetic thing in human experience. He was married to Hawisa,

[1] See Taylor's *Book about Bristol*, p. 142.

[2] As there was an Earl of Tewkesbury at some time during the reign of Henry I. [A.D. 1100–1135] it is probable that this title was borne by Earl William while his father was living, but dropped when he became Earl of Gloucester.

or Avice de Bellamont, daughter of Robert, the second of the earls of Leicester who preceded the Montforts. A son was born to them at Cardiff Castle and named Robert, the only son they ever had, and after his early death, at the same place, in 1166, the grief of his parents found no outlet large enough for it but the building of a great church and monastery as his memorial and his shrine. Thus they erected on the banks of the Avon, between Bath and Bristol, the Abbey of Keynsham, and gave for its endowment the whole of the manor and hundred of the name. It was a magnificent institution, enriched by many later endowments; but the more magnificent a church is the more tempting it is to the confiscator when his time comes, and not a stone remains as a monument of its departed glory, or as a testimony that human souls in one generation have sympathy with the sorrow of others in a generation gone by.

Of the three daughters of this earl, Mabel, the eldest, was married to Almeric de Montfort Count d'Evreux in Normandy. Their second daughter, Amice, married Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford, and from her all the later earls of Gloucester were descended. Their third daughter was Isabella, who married Prince, afterwards King John.

This Earl of Gloucester died in 1183, and was buried beside his son at Keynsham. In the register of the abbey there is a representation of 'Willmus Comes Glocestriæ et Hawisa vxor eius' sitting at the opposite ends of a marble throne and holding between them a church with three gable roofs, a large square tower surmounted by a spire on the north side, and a multangular tower with a cupola at the west end. The arms on Earl William's surcoat, are those of Robert, earl of Gloucester, and Fitz-Hamon, quarterly. Another figure of the earl, prefixed to a copy of his charter, is also given, and his surcoat here bears the same arms, but surmounted with an escutcheon bearing the Clare chevrons.

The Monastery burned in 1178.

During his time, in 1178, a great fire occurred at the abbey, the extent of which has led some writers to suppose that it amounted to a total destruction of Fitz-Hamon's church. The 'Annals of Worcester' record that the monastery was burnt, the 'Annals of Winchester' declare that the church of Tewkesbury was burnt and reduced to dust. But as the 'Annals of Tewkesbury' distinctly speak of the 'monastery and offices' as the destroyed portion, we may conclude that this, like other stories, gained by travelling. The massive walls and columns of the old Norman abbey were practically fire-proof; and, whatever the fire may have done, no archæological eye can doubt that Fitz-Hamon's building still stands before us, that the great pillars of the nave and choir and the beautiful central tower are all work of his day, or that of his daughter, and that no fire could 'reduce them to dust,' except that of a furnace seven times heated surrounding them with its burning embraces for many days. It may be doubted, whether even the wooden ceiling of the nave was destroyed, for the present groining is certainly of a later date than would be one placed there in its stead before the end of the twelfth century. At the same time, there are unmistakeable traces of fire on the south wall of the church, where the conventual buildings stood; and it is clear that this fire occurred before the cloister arcade that stands against the wall was built. We may therefore conclude, that a severe and destructive fire occurred among the monastic buildings, external to the church, but that the church itself was spared to be the glory of Tewkesbury in many a later age.

John, third Earl of Gloucester, afterwards King.

On the death of Earl William, the same course was taken by Henry II. in respect to the honour of Gloucester,

which had been taken by Henry I. Three daughters and no son being left, the king detained the lands in his own hands for six years. Then, at his death in 1189, his son, Richard I., gave them, with Isabella,[1] the third and only unmarried daughter, to Prince John, earl of Moreton.

This marriage took place in the same year, 1189. There were no children, and when John became king, he soon divorced the heiress of Fitz-Hamon. He was crowned Duke of Normandy at Rouen on April 25, 1199, then King of England at Westminster, on May 27, 1199, and at Canterbury on Easter Day, March 25, 1200. In the same year he resided for some time at Tewkesbury, if there is any truth in the Brakelond Chronicle, which states that certain knights of Bury St. Edmunds were summoned to attend as witnesses in a suit which was being carried on there before the king, between the abbot of Bury and Thomas de Burgh, brother of Hubert de Burgh, at that time the king's chamberlain.[1] But at this time, and before his second coronation in England, John had obtained a divorce from Isabella of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, which was pronounced at Angouleme in 1200, by Elias, archbishop of Bordeaux, and William, bishop of Poictiers, on the ground that they were related within the third degree of consanguinity. They were, in fact, second cousins; Henry I. being the great-grandfather of both. Whether Isabella was crowned with him at Westminster is not on record; but it is certain that her namesake, Isabella of Angouleme, was married by the king immediately after his divorce, and that she was crowned with him at Canterbury. Seven years elapsed, however, before their first child, afterwards Henry III., was born. 'Johannes filius regis Henrici secundi' is represented as Earl of Gloucester in the Register of Tewkesbury, wearing

[1] She is called Hawisa or Avice by Hovenden, and in the 'Annals of Burton.'

[2] *Chron. Jocellin. Brakelond.* Camd. Soc. &c., p. 91.

an ermine lined robe, and under it a surcoat with the royal arms of England quartering those of Robert, earl of Gloucester, a shield with the royal lions alone being at his side.

King John had the grace to give up the honour of Gloucester to his divorced wife, and immediately gave her another husband also in the person of

Geoffrey Mandeville, Earl of Essex, and fourth Earl of Gloucester.

who was created thus on his marriage.[1] He lived to enjoy the pleasure of her society and the honours and lands which she had brought him, until 1216, when he was killed at a tournament in London. On his death, Isabella ventured on a third husband in the person of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, and now Lord Justiciary of England. She brought no children to any of her husbands, and last of all she herself died also in 1218, soon after her latest marriage, and was buried at a convent in Holborn.

The Interdict.

For six years of the time during which Isabella, the divorced wife of King John, was the patroness of Tewkesbury, all the churches of the country were under the shadow of the infamous Interdict, by which Pope Innocent III. deprived the people of England—the bishops being stupid enough, or wicked enough, to submit to his order—of all religious services. This most wicked act of the pope took effect on March 24, 1208, when Tewkesbury Abbey was closed, and the sound of divine service ceased to be heard there. In 1209, conventual churches, but no other, were permitted to have one service a week, the 'servus servorum' allowing his Master in heaven to be worshipped to that

[1] He had, however, to pay a marriage-fee of 20,000 marks to the king.

small extent. But the antichristian edict of the Roman Court stopped the daily sacrifice all over England for six years and a quarter, and the Annals of Tewkesbury record that divine service was again celebrated for the first time, as it had been before the Interdict, only on July 5, 1214. One marvels that no word of sorrow or rejoicing accompanies the record either of the beginning or the end of this spiritual famine.

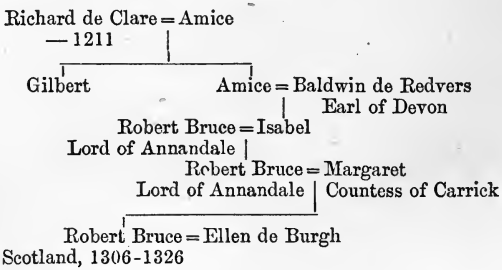
Almeric Devereux, fifth Earl of Gloucester.

This nobleman succeeded on the death of Isabella, he being son of her sister Mabel, who had married Almeric de Montfort, a Norman earl, bearing the title D'Evreux. No record remains of any local association between him and Tewkesbury beyond his inheritance of the manor; and it is supposed that he bore the title for a short time only before his death, which occurred in 1221. His wife was Millicent, the daughter of Hugh de Gournay, whose brother Robert was Lord de Gournay of Beverston; but no children were left by him to carry on the succession in the line of Mabel. He was buried at Keynsham.

THE DE CLARES.

Two daughters of William, the second Earl of Gloucester, having thus failed to provide a line of succession for the lands and title, both fell to the third daughter, Amice, who had married Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford.[1] Thus the golden shield of the Clares, with its three red chevrons, was first seen among the lords of Tewkesbury, Gilbert, the son of Amice, coming in as the lineal successor of Fitz-Hamon, and uniting the earldom of Gloucester with the earldom of Hertford, in his own person. But the earldom of Gloucester mostly descended by the female side, and the name of Clare was exchanged for that of Despencer in about three quarters of a century.

[1] She and her husband were ancestors of Robert Bruce, who was thus descended from Henry I.



King Robert himself was married to a sister of Maud de Burgh, the wife of the last Clare of Tewkesbury and Gloucester.

1. Robert Fitz-Roy.
2. A Patriarch.
3. Gilb. De Clare I.
4. Thom. Despencer.
5. St. John Baptist.
6. Ditto ditto.
7. Gilb. De Clare III.
8. Gilb. De Clare II.
9. A Patriarch.
10. A. De Clare.
11. An Angel.
12. William Fitz Count.

Heliotype.]

FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE FOUND UNDER THE ALTAR.

Gilbert de Clare, sixth Earl of Gloucester and fifth Earl of Hertford.

The first Tewkesbury de Clare[1] was the son of that Richard de Clare whose name appears at the head of the signatures to Magna Charta, and who has been already mentioned as the husband of Amice, daughter of William Fitz-Count, second Earl of Gloucester. He became Earl of Hertford on the death of his father in 1211; and two years afterwards, on October 9, 1214, St. Denis's day, he married Isabel, daughter of William, the great Earl of Pembroke, Marshal of England; this marriage being one of the first which was performed with full religious ceremonies after the Interdict. The young Earl of Hertford had been one of the most active of the barons in opposing King John, and his name appears not far below that of his father on the Great Charter, a copy of which was once deposited in Tewkesbury Abbey, perhaps by his influence. On the death of John at Newark on October 19, 1216, he was equally active against the young king, Henry III., who was crowned within a few days afterwards at Gloucester, under the guardianship of the Earl of Hertford's father-in-law, the Earl of Pembroke, who was shortly afterwards appointed Protector of the realm. As many other of the barons did, who have got the credit for patriotism from posterity, the Earl of Hertford fought in the army which they had invited Philip II. of France to send over to England under his son, afterwards Louis VIII.; and with others of these patriotic

[1] It is observable, however, that as early as 1153 the Annals give special notice to the name, recording that Gilbert, earl of Clare, died in that year.

In the Register, 'Richardus de Clare, primus Comes Hertefordiæ et Gloverniæ,' is represented with a surcoat bearing the arms of Hertford impaling those of Fitz-Hamon, while by his side is a shield with the arms of Hertford and Clare quarterly. But the title is undoubtedly a mistake, Richard de Clare dying and being buried at Clare in 1211, while Geoffrey Mandeville was Earl of Gloucester.

English earls of 'Magna Charta' fame, he commanded French troops when they encountered the English army under his father-in-law, at the great battle which was nicknamed 'the Fair of Lincoln.' There he was taken prisoner, and being carried to Gloucester in the train of the victorious Protector, he soon received pardon on returning to his allegiance.

Gilbert de Clare succeeded to the lordship of Tewkesbury and the earldom of Gloucester in the year 1221 on the death of Almeric Devereux, the fifth Earl; and thus he united the two great earldoms of Hertford and Gloucester. The Clares of his day seem to have led an unquiet life, for he was in rebellion again in 1227, with Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother; and his own brother, Richard de Clare, was murdered by a London mob in the following year. But his last few months were spent out of England, and he died at Penrose in Brittany, on October 25, 1230, or as the chronicler records, in the night of Saints Crispin and Crispinian; leaving, as the annalist also records, the manor of Mythe and a rich silver gilt cross to the abbey.

He also left special directions that his body was to be buried in the abbey, where no Clare had previously rested, nor any lord of Tewkesbury since Fitz-Hamon, although all his successors were laid near him for 250 years, until the lordship of Tewkesbury was absorbed into the crown.

The Annals say that on the Saturday following his death the body of the earl was landed at Plymouth; and that as it was carried through the midst of Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, to Cranbourn, large alms were distributed to the poor, and silk vestments given to the churches, to incite all to pray for his soul. On Saturday, November 9, only fifteen days after his death, the funeral reached Tewkesbury, where his body was buried on the Sunday following before the high altar in the midst of the presbytery or choir by Abbot Peter of Tewkesbury assisted by the abbots of Tintern (a Clare foundation), Flaxley,

Keynsham, and Dureford; many of the monks of those kindred houses being present, and vast crowds of spectators gathered from the town and the country around. The Chronicle of Tewkesbury displays a figure of 'Gilbertus primus comes Gloverniæ et Hertfordiæ,' in a surcoat which bears the three clarions of Gloucester and the Clare arms quarterly. He holds in his hands a branch with five leaves on it, the number of his children, and has about him five shields charged with the arms of his and his wife and widow's connections, and of the abbey.

The lower part of his stone coffin still remains where it was originally placed.

Isabel, Countess of Cornwall and Gloucester.

The same abbot officiated less than five months later at the marriage of Earl Gilbert's widow Isabel to his friend Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III., the ceremony being performed on March 30, 1231, at Fawley, near Marlow in Buckinghamshire. She thus became Countess of Gloucester, Hertford, Cornwall, and Poictiers; but though these great titles overshadowed the comparatively humble one which she derived from Tewkesbury, her affections were firmly rooted in the old abbey until her last hour. The marriage made the king exceedingly angry, but he was eventually pacified by the bishops at court and by the friends of his brother. Perhaps he would have been more easily pacified if he could have foreseen that although Isabel bore four children to her second husband, none of her blood mingled with that of the Plantagenets beyond them.

Isabel died in childbirth at Berkhampstead on January 17, 1239–40, and desired to be buried at Tewkesbury by the side of her first husband. This not very gracious request was refused by her second husband, but when it was arranged that her body should be buried at Beaulieu Abbey, he consented that her heart should be sent to

Tewkesbury. It was therefore placed in a silver vase, 'decenter deaurata,' and deposited in the marble tomb of Earl Gilbert by brother Henry de Sipton,[1] who was then prior of Tewkesbury, and who had been present at her death. 'Intestina vero ejusdem,' adds the annalist, were buried before the high altar at Missenden. It was a curious distribution of her remains, but did not of course seem so in those days, and the sentiment which prompted it will bear comparison with the philosophy which finds satisfaction in the prospect of 'cremation' in a gas-furnace. The unsentimental old monkish annalist quotes some Latin rhymes commemorating this sentiment, the substance of which may be given in English not much worse than the Latin as follows:[2]

> 'By her last will her heart the Countess left,
> Her better part, though of the rest bereft;
> And to her first dear lord her heart returned
> To show with what true love that heart had burned.'

It is probable that the lines were written on parchment and placed in the monument, a 'marble mausoleum' which had been erected in memory of Earl Gilbert.

The Countess Isabel left many legacies to her dearly loved Abbey of Tewkesbury. There were copes, silver bound service-books, chalices, in abundance, together with money and land. But her most remarkable legacy was a bottle which contained a collection of relics sent to her by

[1] The Annals and the Register both say 'per fratrem Henricum de Siptune, tunc priorem Theokesberiæ.' Later writers say '*her* brother,' but all the brothers of Isabel became earls of Pembroke, and though Prior Sipton seems to have been a man of wealth and position, there is no evidence that he belonged to the family of the countess.

[2] 'Voto postremo legavit cor comitissa,
Pars melior toto fuit huc pro corpore missa;
Hæc se divisit, dominum recolendo priorem;
Huc cor quod misit, verum testatur amorem.

the pope. In that phial there were some remains of St. Cornelius, one of the pope's early predecessors, some hairs of St. Elizabeth the Virgin, some memorials of the Three Children, of the brother Saints Mark and Marcellin, part of a linen garment which had been worn by the blessed Agnes, and relics of the holy martyrs Olympius, Theodore, Simpronius, Superbia, Lucilla, Pantaleon, Pope Damasus, St. Basil, and the Forty Martyrs. The pope's treasury of relics is as inexhaustible as his infallibility, and a critical mind will perhaps believe in the veritableness of one as much as in that of the other; but countesses of the thirteenth century were not critical, and no doubt the Lady Isabel's simple faith in these valuable relics reacted with more good than evil upon her simple soul. What Prior Sipton did with the bottle is not on record. Perhaps he buried it respectfully beside the silver vase, and gently trusted that no harm was done.

At the same time it must be honestly recorded that if brother Henry acted in this manner he was before his age in Tewkesbury. For in the years 1232, 1252, and 1255 many miracles were said to be wrought in the abbey. In the latter year persons were plainly healed of divers infirmities—what and how many are not stated—by the prayers of the venerable father the Lord Abbot Robert Forthington, who had gone to his rest the year before. On the day of the holy relics, July 2, 1252, a certain woman, who had lost the use of all her limbs for a year and a half, was entirely restored and made perfectly whole, as all the people of Tewkesbury bore witness, and who would disbelieve them? Yet there were those among them who could tell of far greater wonders. For twenty years before, on the same anniversary of the relics, a man paralyzed in his hands and his feet for a year before was laid in front of the shrine which held them, and as soon as matins were over he cried with a loud voice that he was cured, and the use of his limbs was restored to him. Another day a dumb man of

Forthampton was restored to speech. In a similar way the sons of Elias and Nicolas, the goldsmiths, were restored to speech by drinking water in which certain relics had been washed. At various times paralytics, and dumb people, and cripples, and those who had evil spirits, to the number of as many as forty and more were cured, to the honour of God and of those whose relics reposed in the church of the Blessed Mary at Tewkesbury. Most of these miracles took place, indeed, just before the appointment of brother Henry Sipton as prior, but though it is recorded during the years of his priorate that the arm of St. Andrew, which had been brought from Jerusalem, wrought many miracles at Evesham, none are mentioned during twenty years at Tewkesbury. Perhaps, therefore, brother Henry *was* before his age, and devoted himself rather to building and restoring, as he did devote himself heartily, than to relics.

Richard de Clare, seventh Earl of Gloucester, and sixth Earl of Hertford.

When Earl Gilbert, the first of the Tewkesbury Clares, died in 1230, his son Richard was only eight years old, having been born on August 4, 1222. He thus became the king's ward, and was made over first to Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, the Justiciary of England, and on the disgrace of that great earl in 1232, to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester.[1] During the time of this wardship the king and queen paid several visits to their ward's house at Tewkesbury, but whether it was kept up as one of the

[1] On the death of a nobleman his estate, in those days, passed into the hands of the sovereign. If his successor was of age, he recovered the lands by paying to the crown a considerable sum of money as a rough form of succession duty. But if the successor was a minor the crown became his guardian; and the wardship, with the usufruct of the estate, was often given into the hands of a minister of state or a favourite. In such cases, also, a large sum was required to be paid for the privilege of marrying the ward.

royal country houses, or whether it was used as a residence of the Earl of Kent, or whether the Countess Isabel was permitted to reside there at her pleasure, is not known. But it is on record that about the end of May, in 1233, Henry III. visited Tewkesbury while he was holding his court at Gloucester: and on June 4, 1236, Queen Eleanor came there 'for the first time,' which implies that she came there not unfrequently. On such occasions the bells of the abbey would ring out many a merry peal, the abbot and his monks would go in procession clad in copes of gold and velvet to do honour to the royal visitor, and all loyal folk of Tewkesbury would hang out their tapestry and their garlands to make their streets look bright and to give their best welcome to their sovereigns.

Royal match-making in the case of royal wards was too profitable a mode of levying taxes to be neglected, and hence the rich young Earl of Gloucester was soon sent into the matrimonial market. But though daughter-culture was doubtless understood by mothers in those days, after the day's fashion, as well as it is now, yet in the case of a royal ward it involved the expenditure of an amount of money beside which the cost of balls, opera boxes, picnics, and all other matrimonial snares would look trifling. At first Henry III. opened a negotiation with the Earl of March for one of his daughters, but it broke down in the preliminary stages. A more effectual arrangement was then brought about with the Earl of Lincoln, who agreed to buy Earl Richard for his eldest daughter at the price of 7,000 marks, which sum amounts to something not very unlike 70,000*l.* of our modern money.

Meanwhile a little private negotiation had been going on between the young earl and Margaret de Burgh, and as the Earl of Kent and his wife were helpers in the plot, the young people were privately married. As if to make material, however, for a nineteenth century novel writer, a counterplot was contrived on the part of William de

Provence, bishop of Valence, who wanted to get the golden heir into his own keeping, and the annalist of Tewkesbury registers that in the year 1236 Hubert de Burgh was impeached before the king on account of the 'maritagium'—which seems to mean the actual marriage, and not the dower only—of Richard de Clare and Margaret the daughter of De Burgh. The king succeeded in getting the young couple divorced, and about Candlemas, 1237, he further succeeded in carrying out his first scheme, that of marrying his ward to Maud de Lacy, the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. What became of the other wife has not been considered of sufficient importance to need record by the historians of that period.

Not long after his marriage this lord of Tewkesbury started for the Crusades. He seems to have been a man of religion according to the fashion of his day; for in 1248 he introduced the newly founded Augustine Friars into England, building a house for them at Tunbridge;[1] and in the following year he is found doing what has been done six and a half centuries later, making a pilgrimage to Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury's grave, then only eight years old, at Pontigny. For this pilgrimage the monks had to borrow a hundred marks of the Jews on his account.

When he was at home this earl lived chiefly at Holme Castle, near the south-west end of the abbey precincts. There at Christmas time he is said to have entertained sixty knights and their trains, and there, in 1250, he made knights of William de Wilton and Peter Boteler, there being no doubt gay ceremonies when these young soldiers

[1] A few years before, in 1230, great jealousy and contention had arisen between the monks of St. James's Priory at Bristol, a cell of Tewkesbury, and the Dominican Friars of St. Augustine's Priory, who had just been settled in a similar manner close to the former monastery by Maurice de Gaunt, lord of Beverston. But the Preaching Friars were then in the ascendant, and their older Benedictine brethren could not keep them away.

girt on their swords after a night's watching of their armour before the altar of the old abbey. There too a queer story is told of him that when a Jew fell into a pit full of mud on the Sabbath day, and refused to be drawn out for fear of breaking the Jewish law, the earl ordered that he should not be drawn out on the Sunday for fear of breaking the Christian law, so that on the arrival of Monday the poor Jew was dead. Perhaps it was the usurer of whom the hundred marks had been borrowed, for Shylock had to run the risk of his debts being cancelled by any convenient accident of this kind in those rough days.[1]

But Earl Richard seems not to have been a man of easy temper. In 1253 he left the court in high dudgeon because the king would not allow him to accompany him abroad. In 1258 he and his brother William brought upon themselves the vengeance of Walter de Scotenay, his chief councillor, who managed to give them some deadly drug which poisoned William, and had the subtle effect on himself of destroying his hair and nails.[2] Leland's old chronicler also records that he was tyrannical towards the monks of Tewkesbury, and that he took away from them much of their property. But it is satisfactory to find that like many another hasty tempered man the earl could ask forgiveness. On August 20, 1258, he desired to be reconciled with the monks; and a Procession, or Litany, having been said at his request, and on his behalf, he gave the kiss of peace to all the brethren from the greatest even to the least, 'at which sign of reconciliation all rejoiced greatly.'

[1] Tewkesbury was the dwelling-place of many Jews in the Middle Ages; and some more industrious antiquary than the present writer may possibly find some connection between this circumstance and the fact that a colony of German Jews may still be found in Tewkesbury Buildings, Whitechapel, London.

[2] William de Clare had directed that his body should be buried in Tewkesbury Abbey, but it was interred secretly in the Abbey of Dureford, lest the knowledge of his death should prove fatal to the earl.

During the following years Earl Richard sided with the barons who were opposed to the king, with whom he seems never to have been on friendly terms; not forgetting, perhaps, how the royal will had crossed his path in early life. When he died, at Emersfield, in Kent, on July 15, 1262, it was alleged that he had been poisoned at the table of the queen's uncle, Peter de Savoy; although if we may judge from the number of indulgences granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Chester, Worcester, and Llandaff, to those who should pray for his soul, his death was regretted by a large circle of friends. He is represented in the Register of Tewkesbury as 'Richardus de Clare secundus, Comes Glocestriæ et Hertfordiæ,' bearing in his left hand a branch with five leaves, the number of his children, and in his right hand a goblet, perhaps referring to the poison. He wears a surcoat emblazoned with the chevrons of Clare, and has at his side two shields with other family arms, and those of the abbey.

The De Clares had sumptuous funerals in the abbey as well as sumptuous monuments. Earl Richard was buried on the right hand of his father on July 28, in the presence of many nobles and knights, the bishops of Worcester and Llandaff, and no fewer than eight abbots officiating on the occasion. Then his widow set up over his grave a magnificent tomb adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, whereon she placed the sword and spurs with which he had been girt when he was knighted. This tomb was no doubt similar in character to that of Henry III., erected a few years later in Westminster Abbey, a high table monument, much inlaid with mosaics, and bearing on its top a recumbent effigy of the deceased; 'a composure of curious work, framed of diverse coloured marbles and glittering stones, chequered and gilt with gold, supported at each corner by twisted or serpentine columns of the same speckled marble all brought from beyond the seas.' The

epitaph copied from it in 'Weever's Funeral Monuments,' is composed of the two absurd lines—

Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Ulyssis,
Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet.

And if his shade could read them he must have been very much ashamed to find himself made out to be as great a hero as all these put together. As for the splendid tomb it has gone. The hangers on of the Reformation most likely stole the valuables, and the tasteless successors of the reformers removed the ruined stones. But his stone coffin was worth nothing to them, so it still remains entire, all but the lid, and it still contains many of his bones.

It was in this earl's time, on October 25, 1241, the feast of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, that the body of his ancestor Fitz-Hamon was removed from the chapter house and placed in the choir, on the left hand of the high altar.[1] At the same time the body of Abbot Benedict, the third Abbot of Tewkesbury, was also removed from the chapter house and re-interred with that of Fitz-Hamon; the body of Abbot Robert being removed from its grave at the door of

[1] 'In læva parte magni altaris' is the position indicated in the contemporary Annals. In mediæval language the left hand of the altar invariably means the heraldic 'sinister,' that which is on the right hand of the spectator. Thus the Chronicle says of Hugh, Lord Despencer, that he was buried 'juxta summum altare *in dextera parte*,' his monument being that so well known on the north of the altar.

But although the Annals, which were most likely written by an eye-witness, thus state that Fitz-Hamon's remains were translated to the *left* of the altar, the Chronicle, written some two centuries later, states with equal distinctness that they were interred between two pillars on the *right* hand of the presbytery, adding that Abbot Parker afterwards built a chapel over them in 1397. The chapel thus indicated is that which occupies the bay eastward of the Warwick Chapel. The marble tomb within has had a brass upon it, which from the matrix seems to have been that of a knight; and the floor is paved with tiles on which there is a shield of Fitz-Hamon's lion impaling the abbey cross, the shield being supported on an abbot's pastoral staff.

the church to that which had been occupied by Benedict in the chapter house. The fact is thus drily recorded in the Annals, but there would be much ceremony, splendid processions, and many services, on such an occasion as this, of which a modern reporter would make more account than was thought necessary by a mediæval annalist.

Gilbert de Clare, eighth Earl of Gloucester, and seventh Earl of Hertford.

The next lord of Tewkesbury was the son of the preceding one, and was born at Christ Church in Hampshire, on September 2, the morrow of St. Giles, in the year 1243, just after his father came of age. As he grew up he became a man of sufficient note among his fellows to have a nickname, and they called him the Red Earl, 'quia rufus erat et pulcher aspectu,' though the name sounds very much as if his beauty consisted in a rubicund face surmounted by hair of the colour which fond mothers call 'auburn,' and impartial schoolboys call 'carrots.' But the Red Earl he was.

Like his father, he was a minor and a ward of the crown, though only for two years. But long before his father's death, in 1252, the king had made up his mind to marry him to his niece Alice, daughter of Guy, earl of March and Angoulême; and his father was in danger of incurring a fine of 11,000*l.* through his tardiness in promoting the match, the abbot being sent to London on his behalf to make things pleasant with the king. Gilbert was at this time nine years of age only, and Alice a still younger child. Nevertheless, they were espoused in 1253, and eight years afterwards they were married, their first child, Isabella, being born on March 10, 1262, when Gilbert was eighteen and a half years of age; and, as the Annalist remarks, before he had been girded with the sword of a knight.[1] A

[1] The 'Annales de Theokesberia,' record no more local incidents after naming the birth of Isabella, merely registering some public documents in the last few pages.

son, John, was born to them afterwards, but he died in his infancy, and Leland says the child was buried in 'a chapel of Our Lady' at Tewkesbury, which seems likely to be a mistake for the church of Our Lady.

As soon as he came of age, this earl sided with Simon Montfort, and was one of the framers of the 'Provisions of Oxford,' which in effect took all power from the king, and vested it in a cabinet of noblemen,—an early stroke of Whig policy. After the defeat of the barons at Northampton in 1264, the young earl hastened to London, to set the city against the king. He was knighted by Montfort at Lewes, where he commanded the second brigade of the rebel army; and as soon as the victory was gained, he showed the usual selfish spirit of these so-called patriot barons by getting a grant of nearly all the estates in England belonging to the Earl of Surrey. Shortly afterwards he changed sides, on account of some offence given him by Montfort, assisted the king to escape from imprisonment, and commanded the second brigade of the royal army at Evesham. After this he again turned against the king, got forces into the city, and nearly succeeded in taking the Tower. From that time there was a standing quarrel between him and the crown, until in 1270 he obtained remuneration for his expenditure at the Battle of Evesham, when he became patriotically reconciled.

Very early marriages often end unhappily, and so it was with that of Earl Gilbert and Alice of Angoulême, for they were divorced in the year 1285, after twenty-three years of marriage. Four years later, in 1289, the earl married the Princess Joan d'Acre, daughter of Edward I., having given up all his castles and manors for her to the king, and received them back again with the condition that they should descend to her heirs by any other husband, if they had no children. Their eldest son, Gilbert, was born at Tewkesbury in the following year, 1290, and was followed by three daughters, Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The Red Earl was evidently of a turbulent disposition, one of those mediæval nobles who could not get on without much fighting, and who made occasions for their favourite pastime when they were not ready to hand. Thus we find him accused in his latter days by the Earl of Hereford of having invaded his lands in Brecknockshire with arms and banners flying. A commission was issued to the Bishop of Ely, his uncle William de Valence, John de Methingham, and two Justices of the Common Pleas, to investigate the charge. They found the accusation true, and also found that the Red Earl's army had 'broken up churches, taken away the chalices and ornaments thereto belonging, slain many of the Earl of Hereford's tenants, and driven away multitudes of cattle;' of all of which plunder the earl himself had a third for his share. But it was also adjudged that the Earl of Hereford had done quite as badly as the Earl of Gloucester, and so both were ordered into custody. At first all their possessions were forfeited, but eventually they escaped with a fine of 100*l.* each.

The Red Earl died at Monmouth Castle on December 7, 1295, and was brought to Tewkesbury to be buried. His body was laid at the left hand of his father in the choir; and the grave was covered with a plain marble slab, around the margin of which was a narrow band of brass, on which his name and titles were engraved. No trace of such a grave now remains there. Bennett states, in his 'History of Tewkesbury,' that 'the effigies of this nobleman formerly stood over one of the stalls, not far from his grave, in a pensive position, with an inscription in gold characters.' This was probably the coloured stone figure of which a portion was found, with parts of others, under the altar, in 1875. His pensive portrait, labelled 'Gilbertus secundus, Comes rubens Glocestriæ et Hertfordiæ,' appears in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, clad in a surcoat with the Clare arms, and having at his side a shield of the Clare arms in

the sinister, and those of Joan d'Acre, a cross patonce between five martlets, in the dexter side.

His widow, Joan d'Acre, almost immediately after the Red Earl's death, married a plain esquire named Ralph de Monthermer, and then sent him to her father, the king, to be knighted! King Edward confiscated all her lands, and imprisoned her new husband in Bristol Castle; but was eventually reconciled to his daughter by Anthony Bek, the great Bishop of Durham. Her lands and her husband were restored to her, and the latter becoming a favourite with the king, on account of the courage shown by him in the Scottish wars, was permitted to bear the title of Earl of Gloucester until the young Gilbert de Clare came of age. After the death of Joan, he was created Earl of Athol, but this stolen title was probably relinquished when he became a prisoner in Scotland, after the battle of Bannockburn.

The Princess Joan died in 1307, but was not buried at Tewkesbury, her body being laid in the church of the Augustinian Friars at Clare, the king and most of the nobility attending her funeral.

Gilbert de Clare, tenth Earl of Gloucester, and Earl of Hertford.

The son of the Red Earl and the Princess Joan Plantagenet, was born at Tewkesbury in 1291, and was scarcely five years old at the death of his father. He married Maud, daughter of John de Burgh, earl of Ulster, her eldest sister being the wife of King Robert Bruce. In 1311, although only twenty years of age, the young earl was made regent of the kingdom while the king, Edward II., was in Scotland, and again in 1313 when he was in France. But his early greatness was cut short at the battle of Bannockburn, on June 23, 1314, and with him the male line of the Clares came to an end. They had held Tewkesbury for eighty-nine years.

This last of the earls of Gloucester and Hertford was brought home from the battle-field to the old abbey, and laid on the left-hand of his father. There he was soon joined by his widow, who was laid at his left-hand on July 2, in the following year, and whose short widowhood seems to tell silently the sad tale of a broken heart. His effigy in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury is entitled 'Gilbertus III^{s}. Comes Glocestriæ et Hertfordiæ,' is clad in a surcoat with the Clare chevrons upon it, has a shield of the lion passant guardant and the chevrons, quarterly, at his side, and bears in his left hand a torch, the burning end of which is being extinguished on the ground, to signify that he was childless. A portion of his statue represented in the same manner is among the fragments of sculpture found under the altar.

The grave of this last De Clare was uncovered when the modern choir pavement was removed in 1875. It is a shallow grave of very fine masonry, the bottom being formed of two slabs of very hard blue stone. Under the dust and rubble with which the grave had been filled up in the last century there still remains nearly entire the skeleton of Earl Gilbert, and he seems to have been a man of very athletic build. The Countess Maud's grave is of a similar description, as was seen by the light of a candle, and upon the top of it is the marble slab in which a magnificent brass was once inlaid, but which has been broken across at some former period.

THE DESPENCERS.

Hugh (fourth baron) Despencer, eleventh Earl of Gloucester.

On the death of the last Lord of Tewkesbury of the Clare family, his estates were divided among his three sisters, and the lordship of Tewkesbury, with the patronage of the abbey, went, as part of the honour of Gloucester, to Eleanor, the eldest. In 1321 she married Hugh le Despencer the younger, who was then created Earl of Gloucester; and they had three sons, Hugh, Edward, and Gilbert. He is represented in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury as 'Hugo secundus le Despensere, Comes Glocestriæ,' with a hawk on his left wrist, which is gloved, and wearing a surcoat emblazoned with the chevrons of the Clares in the first and fourth quarter, the Despencer fret in the second, and the sable bend of De Chesnei in the third. Six other coats of arms are appended, showing the royal and noble alliances of his family, the abbey cross occupying a place in each of the shields.

When Edward the Second's wicked Queen Isabel and her paramour Roger Mortimer raised the standard of civil war against the king, the Earl of Gloucester and his father the Earl of Winchester both stood by the royal side to the last, faithfully discharging their duty as subjects and ministers of the crown. But when the unnatural wife and mother had contrived to make her cause popular by putting her son, Edward III., forward as king, the clever but cruel stroke of policy ruined the cause of Edward II., and he and

his two ministers fell into the hands of Mortimer. Hugh Despencer the elder, earl of Winchester, although ninety years of age, was hanged at Bristol on October 9, 1326, and his body thrown to dogs. On the 29th of the same month, Hugh Despencer the younger, Earl of Gloucester and husband of Eleanor de Clare, was lawlessly drawn on a hurdle through the streets of Hereford, amidst the noise of drums and trumpets, hanged on a gallows fifty feet high, and then quartered. The king himself was with equal lawlessness deposed, on January 20, 1327, and soon afterwards was brutally assassinated in Berkeley Castle, by the order, or with the connivance, of Mortimer and the queen, the first of whom was executed for the murder in 1330, and the latter imprisoned for life by her son Edward III.

The mutilated remains of the Earl of Gloucester's body were distributed to various towns, but the Chronicle of Tewkesbury records that they were some time afterwards collected and buried in the abbey;[1] Leland adds, near the 'lavatory' of the high altar. This probably points to a beautiful monument which occupies the space at the back of the sedilia. The lower part contains an oblong *loculus*, in which the coffin of Abbot Cotes has been placed at a comparatively recent date. The upper portion consists of about forty niches, each of which has contained a bracket and a statue. The whole was doubtless coloured, and must have been very beautiful. Earl Hugh's widow Eleanor afterwards married William, Lord de la Zouch of Mortimer. Her second husband was buried in the chapel of St. Mary in the year 1335.[2] Eleanor, resuming or retaining, the title of Countess of Gloucester, died on June 29th, 1337, when she was laid by his side.

[1] 'Enormiter, perditiose et crudeliter, sine judicio et responsione, suspensus, distractus, et in quatuor partes divisus fuit: et in nostra ecclesia diu postea sepultus.' These are the words of the Register, and they are not too strong for the occasion.

[2] The effigy of a De la Zouch, shown to be such by the arms on the

Hugh Despencer was the last of the earls of Gloucester (with one exception, his great grandson Thomas) who had any association with the lordship of Tewkesbury. The title was indeed given to the husband of Margaret de Clare after the decease of her sister Eleanor, the widow of Hugh, and thus Hugh, Lord de Audley, was twelfth Earl of Gloucester from 1337 to 1347, and was buried among the earls of Gloucester in the choir.

Hugh, fifth Baron Despencer.

But though the earls of Gloucester thus passed away from Tewkesbury, there was still a succession of great names among those who inherited the lordship from Fitz-Hamon's female descendants. During their time also were erected the more conspicuous beauties of the existing abbey, the groined roof of the nave, the clerestory and roof of the choir, the corona of chapels around it, the three chantry chapels in the presbytery, and the splendid monuments which form so noble a feature of the church. As far as the fabric of the abbey goes, the Despencers may indeed be almost called its second founders.

The first of these lords of Tewkesbury who was not Earl of Gloucester was Hugh, Lord Despencer, the son of Hugh the younger and Eleanor de Clare. He was born about 1322, and was only about fifteen at the death of his mother. In a short life he seems to have attained some distinction as a fighting man at sea, it being recorded of him that he did what our later naval men have always been justly proud of, broke a boom by which the enemies' ships were protected in the harbour of Helvoet Sluys, 'quia

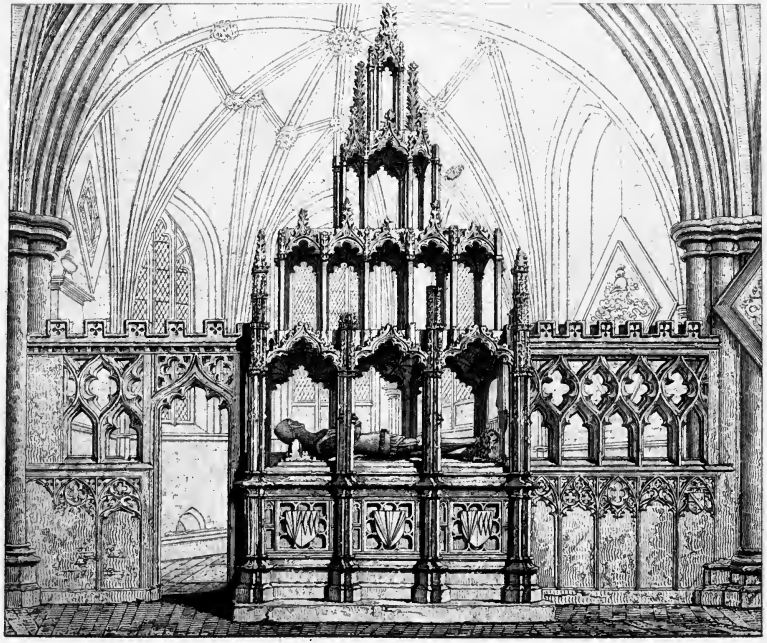
shield—gules, bezanty, or—is preserved in the grounds at Forthampton, and is supposed to have been taken from the abbey. From the character of the armour it appears to be of an earlier date than that of the baron here mentioned.

erat potens in bello.' He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was already the widow (since 1337) of Giles the last Lord de Badlesmere,[1] and who afterwards married Guy de Brien, Lord of Welwyn; but it shows something for his love as well as for his bravery, that when she came to think of her burial she requested to be laid beside him; and there both lie in mortal dust and in marble effigy on the north of the altar.[2]

Hugh Lord Despencer died on February 13, 1348-9, and was buried, as has just been said, 'juxta summum altare in dextera parte,' leaving no children. He appears in the Tewkesbury Chronicle as 'Hugo tertius le Despensere,' wearing a surcoat with the fret and the black bend quarterly, displaying a scroll in his right hand, and in his left a small church with a round tower and spire; five shields of the Despencers, Montacutes, Monthermers, and others accompanying his effigy; and among the quarterings appears the abbey cross. His widow retained the lordship of Tewkesbury until her death, which occurred on May 31, 1359, when it went to her nephew Edward,

[1] Lord Badlesmere's arms—arg. a fess between two bars grenelles gu., are in one of the choir windows. His mother was a de Clare, daughter of Margaret, the wife of Hugh, Lord Audley.

[2] As archæologists have expressed doubts whether these effigies are those of Elizabeth Despencer and her second husband, it may be as well to quote the words of the Register of Tewkesbury. It states that being the wife of Sir Guy de Brien and the widow of Hugh Despencer the third,' when she was buried 'jacet cum nobili viro suo primo marito in tumba satis præclara cum imaginibus de marmore alba.' Atkyns exactly reverses the statement, and says that she left her second husband Hugh Despencer to be buried beside her first husband Guy de Brien. The Despencer arms were found on the tabard of the knight's figure when Mr. Carter cleaned it for the purpose of making a sketch in 1789. The tomb was examined in 1875, when the skeleton of the lady was observed among the fragments of a decayed wooden coffin under her effigy, and the body of Lord Despencer still perfectly enveloped in a leaden shroud, among similar fragments, under his effigy.



[*Heliotype.*

GUY DE BRIEN'S MONUMENT.

whose father, Edward, the younger brother of Hugh, had died in 1342.

The choir of the abbey, all except the Norman columns, was rebuilt during the time of this lady; and the chapels which form so beautiful a nimbus to it are of the same date. Perhaps the work was begun by her first husband and herself, and after her death completed by her second husband, whose arms appear in the ceiling, and her nephew Edward, the next Lord. After the death of her husband Hugh, Lady Despencer married GUY DE BRIEN, Lord of Castle Welwyn in Pembrokeshire (now called Walwin's Castle), a connection of the Clares, who were originally Earls of Brienne in Normandy. He was a man of much note in his day, being standard-bearer to Edward III., and created banneret on the field for acts of bravery. He was commander of Edward's channel fleet, a knight of the garter on its first institution, governor of St. Briavel's, and warden of the Forest of Dean. He was also engaged in all the French and Irish wars of his time, and was sent as ambassador to the pope. Lord Welwyn and Elizabeth Despencer had a son Guy, who died in 1360, leaving two daughters. The first was twice married and left no children; the second had a daughter named Maud, who was also twice married, and left a son and a daughter, the one Earl of Arundel, and the other Countess of Ormonde; but neither of these having children, the line of Guy de Brien became extinct. He himself lived to be ninety years of age, dying in 1390, and is buried under a monument which was made to form the screen of one of the then newly built chapels around the choir, that of St. Margaret. It is a copy of the monument which stands exactly opposite, to the memory of his wife and her former husband, and has on the base her arms, those of Montacute, and his own. A shield bearing the arms of Despencer and Montacute is on the basement of the screen, which is built up into the wall westward of the Brien tomb.

Edward, sixth Baron Despencer.

On the death in 1359 of the Countess Elizabeth, widow of Hugh Lord Despencer, and wife of Guy de Brien, the lordship of Tewkesbury went, as has been already said, to her nephew Edward, the son of her brother Edward, who had married Ann, daughter of Lord Ferrers of Groby, but had died in 1342, when he could not have been more than twenty years of age, though this son was born to him, and though he was Earl of the Isle of Wight and of Devon.

This sixth Lord Despencer was the tenth of all the brave men who were created knights of the garter at the first institution of the order; and held high command under Edward the Black Prince at Poictiers. He had three sons, Edward, Hugh, and Thomas, and four daughters. The elder sons and the daughter all died young, and were buried in the Chapel of St. Mary and of the Holy Trinity, known as the Chapel of St. Mary near the Presbytery.[1] His wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew, Lord de Burghersh, Lord Chamberlain to Edward III., the Tewkesbury lands always attracting heiresses to them, or carrying their heiresses to other large estates.

Lord Despencer died at Cardiff Castle on St. Martin's Day, November 11, 1375, and was brought thence to be buried 'before the door of the vestry, near the presbytery, where his wife built Trinity Chapel,' say the ordinary accounts. His widow's will, dated July 4, 1409, thirty-four years afterwards, directs that her body shall be buried

[1] The double dedication in the name of the Blessed Trinity and of St. Mary was very common in later mediæval times. It is illustrated in this case by the half obliterated wall-painting still remaining at the east end of the chapel. This has been in three compartments, the upper one bearing symbolical figures of the Trinity, the southern one a Coronation of the Virgin.

The 'presbytery' is that part of the choir contained within the pillars as distinguished from the 'ambulatory,' that part between the pillars and the wall.

between Edward, Lord Despencer, her husband, and Thomas Despencer her son; and the latter having been buried immediately in front of the high altar, her grave was probably made beside her chapel in the choir.

The Chronicle of Tewkesbury contains a very curious representation of 'Edwardus Dñs le Despēsere' with his helmet on, a drawn sword in his left hand, and his right grasping a seven-branched candlestick, with lighted tapers reaching higher than himself. As he had three sons and four daughters, this candlestick doubtless symbolises the number of his children. His surcoat is the same as his father's, and three shields of arms, including those of the abbey, are at his feet. A quaint kneeling figure of him in full armour is to be seen under a canopy on the roof of Trinity Chapel. This figure is coloured, perhaps in oil, but a fretty pattern on the back is the only heraldic indication to be found. He and his wife are also, doubtless, the knight and lady who are painted as adoring the Holy Trinity on the altar wall of the chapel.

His widow, as well as his third son Thomas, survived him, the former living in widowhood for a third of a century after his death. She and her husband left rich benefactions to the abbey, a gold chalice and a jewelled pix being named as among his, while among hers were some rich vestments, and fifteen copes. These were, doubtless, the last in a series of magnificent gifts; and the parting donations to the service of God in the abbey of those who had already added greatly to its splendour by beautiful additions to its fabric.

Lady Despencer died on the feast of St. Anne, July 26, 1409, and was buried in the choir.[1] She ordered that

[1] Although the Register says that her husband was buried 'ante ostium vestiariæ juxta presbiterium,' it defines her burial-place clearly as within the choir, and on his left hand: 'Et sepulta est infra chorum Theokusburiæ in sinistra viri sui sub lapide marmoreo.' No trace of her grave has been found.

her funeral should be a plain one, a black pall with a white cross being the sole adornment to be used, and only five tapers to be set about her coffin during the burial service. But she left money for a thousand masses to be said for her soul, seven chantry priests being to receive five pounds each for the purpose during the year following her death. This Eucharistic commemoration of her before God probably took place in the chapel which tradition has connected with her name.

Thomas, seventh Baron Despencer, and thirteenth Earl of Gloucester.

The third son of Edward Despencer and Elizabeth de Burghersh was Thomas, Lord Despencer, born about 1370. He made a great marriage, his wife being Constance, daughter of Edmund Langley, earl of Cornwall and duke of York, who was the fourth son of Edward III., and brother of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt.

In 1397 this lord of Tewkesbury brought back for a short time the earldom of Gloucester; but he lived only two years to bear the honour, and after him no lord of Tewkesbury was ever again Earl of Gloucester. He kept faithful to the unfortunate Richard II., and on the deposition of that king in 1399 was deprived by attainder of both his earldom and his barony. Shortly afterwards he was taken prisoner at Bristol, and there lawlessly put to death (as his ancestor the elder Hugh Despencer had been in the same town) on January 15, 1399–1400. His body was brought to Tewkesbury, and there buried under the lamp which burned before the Blessed Sacrament, and therefore in the middle of the choir just below the boss in the vaulting of the easternmost bay.

There is a more splendid portrait of this lord of Tewkesbury than of any of the others in the Chronicle.

He is depicted in the Garter robe, with rosettes on his shoulders, a sheathed sword in his left hand, and in his right a label bearing his name, 'Thomas Le Despensere.' Near his left shoulder is the badge of the Garter, and there are no fewer than seventeen shields of royal and other arms at his feet; the abbey cross being duly quartered on one of them. No trace of his grave has been found: but among the fragments of statuary discovered is one of the earl in his sky blue mantle, with the badge of the Garter on his shoulder.[1]

He left two sons, Richard and another who died young, and two daughters, Isabel and a younger one who died young, and was buried at Cardiff. His widow Constance afterwards married Thomas, earl of Arundel, dying in 1417, and was buried in the now ruined Abbey of Reading.

Richard, eighth Baron Despencer and fifth Baron Burghersh.

This youth was the eldest son of the preceding, born in 1396. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, and Joan daughter of John of Gaunt, the great-grandson of Edward III., thus marrying the same king's great grand-daughter, but he died at Merton in 1414, before he was nineteen years of age, while he was still a ward of the crown, leaving no children. He was buried in the choir of the abbey, on the left hand of his father. His widow afterwards married the Earl of Northumberland, the son of Hotspur, to whom she bore twelve children.

With him the Despencers of the male line came to an end, having been at Tewkesbury for ninety-three years. They are, however, still represented by Lady Le Despencer, who is descended from Isabel, his sister.

[1] The ancient 'true blue' of the Order was changed to 'Prussian blue' at the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty. Its revival by a dear and honoured sovereign who has no rival in the hearts of her people, would fitly symbolise that complete identification with the ancient glories of England which has now so happily been attained by the dynasty.

THE BEAUCHAMPS.

Isabel Despencer, Countess of Warwick, Abergavenney, Worcester, and Albemarle.

On the death of the last Lord Despencer in 1415, the lands and the ecclesiastical rights of his family went to his sister Isabel, who is best known by the title of her second husband as the Countess of Warwick. She was great grand-daughter of Edward III., and was descended on the female side from Gilbert de Clare, eighth Earl of Gloucester, and his wife the Princess Joan d'Acre, the daughter of Edward I.; and thus by two channels she inherited the blood of the Plantagenets.

The Lady Isabel was born at Cardiff Castle more than six months after her father's death, on July 26, 1400, Earl Thomas having been murdered on January 15 of the same year. The day after she had reached her eleventh year, on the feast of the Seven Sleepers, July 27, 1411, she was married in the abbey, and by Abbot Parker, to Richard Beauchamp, who had recently inherited the title of Earl of Abergavenney from his father William, the second surviving son of Thomas, third Earl of Warwick. In subsequent years the Earl of Abergavenney accompanied Henry V. in his French wars, and for his bravery was created Earl of Worcester in 1420. One daughter was born to the young Countess of Abergavenney when she was a little more than fifteen years of age. This was the Lady Elizabeth Beauchamp, who came into the world at Hanley Castle on September 16, 1415. Abbot Parker was her godfather,

and when it came to her turn to marry, she became the wife of a Neville, Edward, the third son of the Earl of Westmoreland, who was created baron, and thus became ancestor to the present earls of Abergavenney, and to the barons Despencer.

But the then Earl of Abergavenney and Worcester left his young wife a widow on March 18, 1421, when he received a mortal blow in the side from a stone shot out of a catapult at the siege of Meaux. His body was brought to Tewkesbury, and buried on April 25, at the bottom of the choir, between the north eastern pier of the tower and the first pillar on the same side. His memorial portrait in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury represents him as a young man, holding in his left hand a scroll inscribed, 'Ricardus de Bello Campo,' his right hand resting on the baldrick of his sheathed sword. His surcoat bears the arms of Beauchamp, with a crescent for difference, quarterly with a chevron ermine on a field checky in the second and third quarters. Six other shields of arms surround him.

The sumptuous spiritual fashion of private chantries had, a little before the Earl of Worcester's death, set in all over England. In earlier generations the surviving relatives of the departed had been contented to have their names mentioned in the prayer of consecration, when the Holy Eucharist was celebrated at the high altar. Later on, special celebrations of the Eucharist were desired. When these increased in number, several altars and several priests were required, and thus chapels sprang up at the sides of churches, dedicated in the names of the Blessed Virgin, and of other saints, chapels such as those which open out of the ambulatory of the choir at Tewkesbury. At last, in the latter half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, great people were provided with chantry chapels and chantry priests exclusively appropriated to them and their immediate relatives: with endowments for the Holy Eucharist to be offered in such chapels on behalf

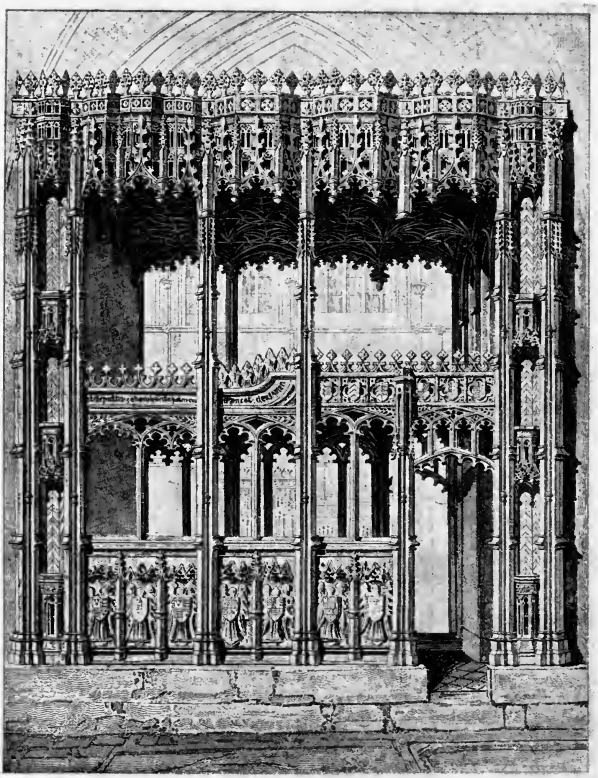
of the deceased as institutions quite distinct from the parish church or the abbey, though locally situated within their walls.[1]

One such private chantry already existed, the 'Trinity Chapel,' and possibly another, that erected by Abbot Parker over the founders' tomb in the bay eastward of that in which the Earl of Abergavenney and Worcester was buried. A chantry more sumptuous and beautiful than either of these was, however, begun by the young widowed countess, and its erection was doubtless an outlet for her grief, as such memorial work has been found to be in a more exalted rank within our own time. The decorations are of an elaborate character; among them may be found the White Rose of York, the chevrons of the Clares, the deceased earl's shield, that of the Beauchamps with the crescent on the fess, to difference it as that of the junior branch of the family. On the exterior are many shields of the arms belonging to the royal ancestors of the countess, and to the Clares, and the Despencers. The chapel was dedicated in the names of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Barbara, and St. Leonard, one year and ten months after the death of the earl.

And when the chapel had been dedicated, then the Lady Isabel put off her mourning, and suffered herself to be comforted by the wooing of her late husband's cousin,[2] Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick and Earl of Albemarle, he being then forty-two years of age, a widower, and having three daughters by his former wife. The marriage took place at Hanley Castle on November 26, 1423, John Forde, Prior of Worcester, and William Bristow, Lord Abbot of Tewkesbury officiating. A year and four

[1] These chantry services were abolished, the chantry priests sent adrift, and the chantry endowments appropriated by the crown in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.

[2] The relationship of the Lady Isabel's two husbands was as follows—

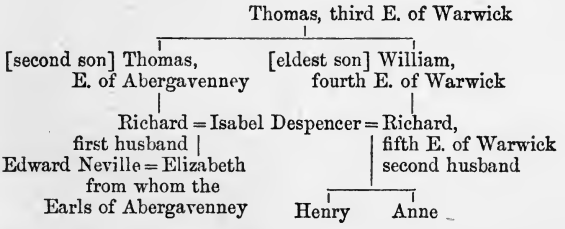


[*Heliotype.*

THE WARWICK CHANTRY

months afterwards, on March 22, 1425, 'the said Lady Isabel brought her husband a delicate boy named Henry, at their Castle of Hanley, who was their heir.' This was the future Duke of Warwick, the Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Buckingham being his godfathers.

The life of the great Earl of Warwick, whom the Lady Isabel thus took for her second husband, has been most beautifully depicted in forty-six drawings made in sepia and pencil by his chaplain John Rous; which are still preserved in the British Museum. [Cott. MS. Julius, E. iv.] These drawings begin with the earl's birth, and end with his burial, and the Lady Isabel often appears among them.[1] Above each is also an explanation of the subject, and these legends form a continuous history of the earl's life.



As the relationship of the widow of Richard, earl of Abergavenney was too close to Richard, earl of Beauchamp, for marriage without a dispensation, one was obtained from the pope.

[1] There are portraits of the earl and countess also in the east window of the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, which are engraved in Dugdale's 'Warwickshire' [i. 412]. In the same work is a very good engraving of the Tewkesbury chantry. The picture of the earl in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, headed 'Richardus Becham, quintus Comes Warwickiæ,' represents him with a drawn sword in his right hand; and his surcoat is emblazoned with the same arms as those on the Earl of Worcester's, surmounted by an escutcheon of those of Despencer. Five other shields of arms accompany the figure. His noble recumbent brass statue at Warwick is well known.

When he was very young Lord Warwick had shown great military talent in defeating Owen Glendower, and also at the battle of Shrewsbury. About 1407 he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his journey was like a royal progress, kings and dukes entertaining him gorgeously with feastings and tournaments. Afterwards he travelled through the north of Europe, even as far as Russia. At a later date he attended the eight prelates who represented the Church of England at the Council of Constance in 1414; and was thenceforward continually engaged in great public employments, none of our greatest men having ever won more respect from foreign sovereigns and statesmen.

Henry V. left the Earl of Warwick guardian of his son Henry VI.; and in 1435, after the death of the great Duke of Bedford—a Plantagenet, not a Russell—he was made Regent of France, an office in which he continued until his death. In crossing the Channel with his countess and their young son Henry, to take up their residence in France, their voyage was nearly brought to an untimely close by a great storm, which eventually drove them back to the coast of England. This danger of himself and his family forms one of the most beautiful of the pictures in the contemporary volume before referred to; the three being represented as lashed to a mast while neighbouring ships as well as their own are tossing about unmanageable, the sailors in one of them being on their knees in prayer.[1] Above this picture the following legend is written describing the incident: 'Here showes howe Erle Richard when he with his navy took the salt water, in short space arose a grevous tempest and drefe the shippes into drufle woote in so muche that they al fered to be pereshid, and the noble erle vore castynge lete bynde hymself and his lady and Henri his sone and heir (after duc of Warrwyk) to the mast of the vessel, to thentent that where ever they

[1] This drawing is copied in Strutt's 'Manners and Customs of the English,' vol. ii. p. 56.

were founde they myght have been buried togeder worshipfully, by the knowledge of his cote armour and other signes uppon him, but yet God preserved them al, and so retourned to Englond, and after to Normandy.'

The subsequent return of the three from Normandy, was still more touching. The earl died at Rouen Castle on April 30, 1439, and the Register states that Lady Isabel and her son Henry returned from France with his dead body. They were full of great grief and sickness, and on their arrival at the coast stayed some time at the priory of Canons in Southwick, near the sea, to recover their weariness. A little after they proceeded to London. The body of the earl was carried to Warwick, and buried in what is now the Beauchamp Chapel, a splendid developement of the Tewkesbury one. But the widowed lady could go no further than London, and went to be nursed by the loving hands of the sisters minoresses of the Convent of St. Clare in the Minories, near the Tower of London.[1] There King Henry VI. made her a visit to comfort her, and when at parting she asked the king to protect her son, who was now his ward, and to carry out her wishes respecting the addition of six monks to the foundation at Tewkesbury, 'the good king being devout towards God, granted her petition, and at going away he expressed these comfortable words, "May God, whom you worship with an upright heart, grant thee thy heart's desire and fulfil all thy mind." She returned thanks to God and the king, and being worn out with her sickness, she died, and slept with the Lord in the same place, on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, which

[1] This abbey was founded in the reign of Edward I. by his brother Edmund, for nuns of St. Clare brought over by Blanche, Queen of Navarre, when she became his wife. In 1515 as many as twenty-seven of the nuns died of the plague, besides a number of the convent servants. It was dissolved in 1539, but some ruins of it remained at the end of the last century and are engraved, from a contemporary print, in Cassell's 'Old and New London,' vol. ii. p. 246.

was the twenty-sixth day of December.' There is a picture of her, as she lay in bed dying, in the Chronicle. At the foot of the bed is kneeling the Abbot of Tewkesbury, with his pastoral staff in his left hand, while with his right he receives from the countess her last will and testament, emblazoned with the Despencer arms.

But although she had been thus stricken down with grief, when only thirty-nine years of age, for the loss of her husband, it was not with him at Warwick that she desired to lie. Her heart turned towards the old Abbey of Tewkesbury and the graves of her ancestors there. She left to it many rich gifts, and an endowment for six more monks, and then she was carried from the Minories thither to be laid at the right hand of her father, Earl Thomas, in front of the altar. Her funeral took place on January 13, 1439–40, the Bishop of Hereford, her confessor, the Abbot of Tewkesbury, the Abbot of Winchelcombe, and a multitude of great friends and of her dependents attending her to a resting place, from which a later generation removed every stone of the monument by which its locality was marked out—'a very handsome marble tomb,' says the chronicler, 'exquisitely carved.' This monument was a table tomb, on the top of which lay an effigy of the countess in a plain linen smock, without any state robes, or 'naked' as a person so divested of their upper robes was then said to be. A small figure of St. Mary Magdalen stood at her head, one of St. John the Evangelist on her right hand, and one of St. Anthony on her left. Around the sides of the table were figures of almsmen and almswomen telling their beads, and at the foot of it was an escutcheon bearing her own arms and those of her late husband, Warwick, impaling Clare and Despencer.

Another memorial of her has met with a better fate than this monument, for on the moulding around the top of her chantry there still remains the following inscription:—'Mementote dñe Isabelle le Despenser, Cometisse

[*Heliotype*.

DEATH OF LADY WARWICK.
From Sir Charles Isham's Copy of Tewkesbury Register.

de Warrewyk, que hanc capellam fundavit in honorē bte Marie Magdalene, et obiit Londiniis apud Mñes. a° dñi MCCCCXXXIX die Scti Jhis evngste. Et sepulta e. ī. choro ī. dextra patris sui: cuj. aīe. parcet Deus. Amen.'

During the restoration of the abbey in 1875 her stone grave was brought to light, covered by a solid slab, on the under side of which was engraved a cross and the words 'Mercy Lord Jhu.' Some fragments of her wooden coffin remained, still lined with oriental silk. Her embalmed body was wrapped in a plain linen shroud, which was perfect except at the top of the head, where a small piece of it had fallen away, disclosing bright auburn hair, apparently as fresh as when she was laid there four centuries and a quarter ago. The body was reverently left as it had been found, and the stone was carefully replaced, with its prayer still towards her face.

Henry Beauchamp, Baron Despencer, Earl of Abergavenney, Duke of Warwick, King of the Isle of Wight and of Guernsey and Jersey.

The birth of Lady Isabel's son by the Earl of Warwick, took place, as has been mentioned, at Hanley Castle on March 22, 1425. He became the ward of Henry VI. and so great a favourite with that king that he heaped upon him honours and titles to an extravagant extent. While the young lord was only a boy, the king made him premier earl of England, and then raised him to a dukedom. With the latter creation he also received precedence of all the dukes, as he had previously had precedence of all the earls. But this so offended his godfather, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, that a concession of alternate precedence year by year between the two dukes was obliged to be made.

When the young duke was only twenty-one years of age, in 1446, the king issued a patent of a novel kind,

creating him King of the Isle of Wight, and himself placing the crown upon his head.[1] This title was, however, a mere honour, the sovereign of England not having any power of partitioning the dominions of the crown. But one such title was not enough, and Henry VI. shortly afterwards conferred upon his favourite the further title of King of Guernsey and Jersey.

But this favoured youth was a conspicuous instance of the evanescent character of such out-of-the way honours, for shortly after the last had been conferred, on June 11, 1446, he died at Hanley Castle. At ten years of age he had been formally married to Cicely, the daughter of Neville, earl of Salisbury, and sister of 'the king-maker,' his sister Anne being married to the king-maker himself; but his honours utterly died out, for a little daughter, the Lady Anne Beauchamp, who had been born in February 1443, died in 1449, and was buried in Reading Abbey.

The young duke himself had spent his latter days at Tewkesbury and Hanley Castle, and he desired that his body might be laid in the midst of the choir, between the stalls, that his 'brethren the monks' might ever keep him in remembrance while they were at their prayers. So popular was he that the abbot caused the burial to take place at night, for fear the gathering crowds should do damage in the abbey. His grave was uncovered on the removal of the floor in 1875, and some of the principal bones of a rather tall man remain among the dust and rubble with which it was filled in careless times.

[1] There is a portrait of the duke as King of Wight in Worsley's 'History of the Isle of Wight.' He is pourtrayed in a humbler form in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, as a simple knight, holding a sword in his left hand and a hawk on his right wrist, bearing no arms on his doublet and having only one shield of arms on his right hand. On this shield the abbey cross again appears, being absent from those of the Earl of Worcester and the Earl of Warwick, his mother's husbands.

His widow married again after the loss of her young husband, her second venture being Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. She lived until July 28, 1501, and appears to have died at Tewkesbury, her body having been laid in the Lady Chapel near that of Lord de la Zouch on the second day afterwards.

Richard Neville, sixth Earl of Warwick, second Earl of Salisbury, Baron Despencer and Earl of Abergavenney, etc.

This man of many titles is he who is known in English history as the king-maker, 'the greatest and last of the old Norman chivalry, kinglier in pride, in state, in possessions, and in renown, than the king himself.'

He became lord of Tewkesbury on the death, in 1449, of the young Lady Anne Beauchamp, having married her aunt, another Lady Anne, daughter of the Countess Isabel, and sister of the Duke of Warwick; but there does not seem to have been any personal association between either of them and the abbey.

On Lord Warwick's death at the battle of Barnet in 1471, his widow had the misery of seeing all the fair possessions of her family confiscated, while she herself lived for thirty years after her bereavement, sometimes in concealment, sometimes in prison, and always in poverty. She had, however, given two daughters to the great Earl of Warwick: Isabel, who was born in 1451, and Anne, both of whom were eventually married to brothers of Edward IV., Isabel becoming the wife of George, duke of Clarence, and Anne, who had first married Edward, the son of Henry VI., becoming afterwards the wife of Richard III.[1]

[1] By the Yorkist king, Richard III., this widow of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales had a son Edward, who was created Prince of Wales, but died in 1484. She herself died in 1485, having probably been poisoned by her most unscrupulous husband.

George, Duke of Clarence, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury.

Soon after the confiscation of the king-maker's estates, 'the Despencer and Warwick lands,' Edward IV. divided them between his two brothers, who thus had a title to them through their wives. Tewkesbury fell to the share of the Duke of Clarence and his wife Isabel.

Two sons were born to them, Edward in 1475, and Richard in the following year, and also a daughter, Margaret. Edward lived a few unhappy years as earl of Warwick, Richard died almost as soon as he was born. Margaret, the last of the Plantagenets, became that unfortunate Marchioness of Salisbury, the tragic manner of whose death on the scaffold in 1541 made more conspicuous one of the many crimes of Henry VIII.

The Duchess of Clarence brought her third child Richard into the world on October 6, 1476, in a new chamber of the infirmary of Tewkesbury Abbey, but no reason is given by the chronicle for her residence in the monastic buildings at the time. The infant was baptized the next day 'in ecclesia parochiali,' that is, in the nave of the abbey, and on a later day was confirmed at the high altar. The Lord George (as the duke was called) and the Lady Isabel removed to Warwick on November 12, and it is noted that she was then in mortal sickness, though nothing is said of the common belief that both she and her infant were suffering from poison. Whether they were poisoned or not, both died very shortly afterwards, the duchess on December 12. Then the fair young mother of twenty-five was brought back again to the abbey on January 4, 1477, and after lying under a hearse in the midst of the choir for thirty-five days, was buried in a vault[1] which was made eastward

[1] The vault is described in the Chronicle as being 'artificialiter facto retro altare majus, ante capellam Beatæ Mariæ ecclesiæ conventualis,

of the high altar. A fortnight after she had been placed in her tomb, on February 18, her husband was put to death —whether the tale of his being drowned in a butt of Malmsey has any truth in it or not—in the Tower of London; and tradition says that his body was brought to Tewkesbury to be deposited by the side of his wife.

Edward, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury.

This young son of the duke of Clarence was the last male heir of the Plantagenets and the last in the long line of the lords of Tewkesbury, but his possessions were kept in the hands of the crown, and he himself was a prisoner at Sheriff Hutton and in the Tower until he was got rid of on the Tower Hill scaffold in 1499, when he was only twenty-four years of age, preceding his sister in the same fate at the same place by forty-two years.

Long before the death of this young earl, in 1488, the possessions of the Clares and the Despencers had been finally absorbed among the crown lands. In that year an Act of Parliament restored the lordship of the Warwick and Despencer lands to the Dowager Countess of Warwick, the widow of the king-maker, and the grandmother of these two last of the Plantagenets. But this was only to enable the lawyers to cut off the entail, and she was immediately required to surrender them by deed to the crown. At the

et ostium sepulturæ positum est ex opposito ostii capellæ Sancti Edmundi martyris.'

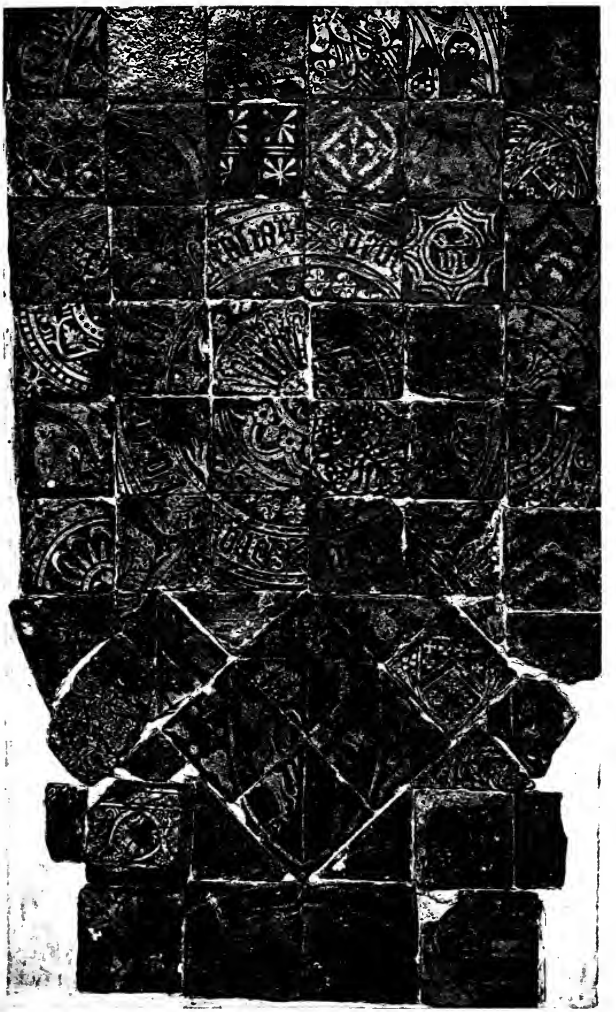
Of all odd things that are done by aldermen and men of that important class, perhaps few have been more odd than the appropriation of this royal vault by Samuel Hawling, one of the corporation of Tewkesbury; who was buried there in 1709, and whose wife and son were laid there too in 1729 and 1753. Their bodies were removed to another grave, southward of this vault, in 1829; and bones, which were supposed to be those of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, were then gathered together and placed in a stone coffin brought from a grave between the Trinity Chapel and the vestry.

dissolution of the abbey, the ecclesiastical manor, that of Barton, was also confiscated to the crown; and thus the whole of Fitz-Hamon's rights and possessions were alienated from his descendants. In 1547 they were granted to Lord Seymour of Sudley, the husband of Catharine Parr. On his attainder, the Warwick and Despencer lands again became possessions of the crown until 1609, when James I. sold them to the corporation of Tewkesbury. The patronage of the abbey—what was left of it—was still retained by the crown, and is represented by the fact that the benefice is in the gift of the Lord Chancellor.[1]

The lordly houses of Fitz-Hamon, De Clare, Despencer, and latterly of Beauchamp, had been successively associated with Tewkesbury Abbey for exactly 400 years; the blood of Fitz-Hamon flowing in the veins of the last Beauchamp. During those four centuries nearly all of them were laid to rest—some after peaceful deaths, four of them bruised and battered in the battle-field, four sent thither by the axe or the halter, some in early youth, but none reaching old age—within the walls of its choir. The personal memorials of most of them have been destroyed, the monastic buildings which their munificence erected are utterly gone, but the glorious church which they built is their best memorial, and it bids fair to commemorate them still for many ages to come.

[1] It is odd to observe that all the four Williams who have sat on the throne of England have turned their royal regard towards Tewkesbury. William I. appropriated all he could lay hands on there for his queen Matilda. William II. endowed with these possessions his relative Fitz-Hamon. William III. revived the Barony of Tewkesbury in favour of Sir Henry Capel, who held it from 1692 until 1696. William IV. made his eldest son Baron Tewkesbury, Viscount Fitz-Clarence, and Earl of Munster, titles still borne by his descendants.

Between 1706 and 1727 the title of Baron Tewkesbury was borne by the princes who became George I. and George II., and portraits of them each as Baron Tewkesbury, when Elector of Hanover, and when Prince of Wales respectively, were painted by Gunst and Kneller.



Heliotype.]

HERALDIC TILES, WITH ARMS OF THE DE CLARES, &c.

THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

THE monks of Tewkesbury were men of peace, but the lords of Tewkesbury were men of war, and took their full share in the unhappy strifes which were carried on between kings and barons, or between rival claimants of the crown. One of them, Neville, Earl of Warwick, the husband of Isabel Despencer's daughter Anne, the maker and undoer of kings, commanded the Lancastrian forces at the great battle of Barnet, which was fought on April 14, 1471; and with many more of the gentry of England, he gave up his life that dreadful Easter Day in the hopeless struggle against Edward IV. By a strange accident, the final battle of the Roses (except Bosworth) was fought out three weeks afterwards on his lands at Tewkesbury, when some terrible hours of slaughter occurred under the very shadow of the abbey, and polluted its precincts, if not the sacred building itself, with the hot blood of war and the cold blood of a cruel victor's vengeance.

After the battle of Barnet, or perhaps before it, another Lancastrian army had been collected together in Devonshire under the command of the Duke of Somerset, Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales being with it. The object of Somerset was, at least after Barnet had been fought, to work his way by Bristol to the Welsh border, where he would be joined by fresh troops under the Earl of Pembroke, and then to march the combined forces into Cheshire and Lancashire where Henry VI. had still a large body of loyal adherents. His plans were, however, discovered by Edward, who hastily left Windsor on April 24,

to try and meet the army of Somerset before it turned round northward after leaving the comparatively narrow part of the country in which it was collected for the open country north of Bristol. The Lancastrian army had been favourably received at Bristol, and ventured to encamp for a few days at Old Sodbury, a place about nine miles from Bristol, and twenty-two south of Gloucester, belonging to the Despencers, and thus to the Earl of Warwick. Edward IV. had marched westward from Windsor, through Oxford, Cirencester, and Malmesbury, and reached Sodbury on May Day. The Duke of Somerset had not waited to give him battle, but marched on by Berkeley to Gloucester, hoping to secure himself within the walls of that town. There, however, Edward's friends had been beforehand with him, and the Duke found himself in an extremely dangerous position, with a hostile fortification in front, and a pursuing army in the rear. There was nothing for it but to escape at all risks, and though the troops were already fatigued with a long march on a hot day, they were pushed on from ten o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon until they had reached Tewkesbury. Then it was found that the worn-out foot soldiers could go no farther, and the commanders did not dare carry the cavalry beyond them. 'They hadd so travayelled theyr hoaste that nyght and daye,' says an eye-witness, 'that they were ryght wery for travaylynge: for by that tyme they had travaylyd xxxvi longe myles, in a fowle contrye, all in lanes and stonny wayes, betwyxt woodes, without any good refreshynge.' So they turned to bay, encamping hastily in the Vineyard, a meadow on the south of the church, 'close, even at the townes ende; the towne and the abbey at theyre backs; afore them, and upon every hand of them, fowle lanes, and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hylls, and valleys, a right evill place to approche, as cowlde well have been devysed.'

But Edward was close upon them, having made a flank

march by Wooton, Stroud, and Painswick, to Cheltenham on Friday, and pressing on thence after a short rest, so that he arrived in front of the Lancastrian army a few hours after they had taken their stand at Tewkesbury.

The battle began at daybreak on that sad summer morning, as the monks were singing their Saturday mattins in the choir of the abbey. During the night Queen Margaret and the prince had been protected by a small entrenchment at Gupshill, but at day dawn the prince took leave of his mother, and sent her away to the safer shelter of a 'powre religiowse place,' no doubt Deerhurst, where she was found overwhelmed with sorrow on the Tuesday, long after all was over.

For a short time sufficed to break the first line of the worn-out Lancastrians, led by Somerset and his brother Lord John Beaufort, and when, by some mistake or treachery, the second line—under the command of Lord Wenlock and Sir John Langstrother, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem—failed to come to his support, he saw that the day was lost. Somerset furiously denounced Wenlock as a traitor, and cleft his skull with a battle-axe, but he could not rally the slain nobleman's soldiers, and henceforth instead of a battle there was nothing but flight and ruthless slaughter.[1] 'And so fell in the chase of them that many of them were slayne, and namely' [particularly] 'at

[1] A recumbent figure of a knight placed in a recessed tomb at the east end of the north aisle has been generally said to represent Lord Wenlock. The arms on the shield appear to be a chevron between three leopard's heads erased: and the arms of Lord Wenlock were az., a chevron between three blackamoors' heads erased, or. It may be doubtful whether mediæval sculptors would make blackamoors' heads very human, and what are called leopards' heads may be intended for the Wenlock arms.

Lord Wenlock built a chantry in Luton Church, on the death of his wife, and it has been supposed by some that his body was removed from Tewkesbury to be buried there. He had fought on Edward IVth's side at Towton, and there was formerly in the east window at Luton a figure

a mylene in the medowe fast by the towne were many drownyd, many ranne towards the towne, many to the churche, to the abbey, and els where, as they best myght.'

A strange scene then took place at the abbey. The Lancastrian troops having been driven back upon it, many of them, as the writer just quoted says, took refuge within its walls; for though not privileged as a sanctuary for accused criminals, every church was sacred against the sword of battle. The victorious Yorkists pressing in the same direction, Edward arrived at the porch with the intention of dragging the fugitives out, or of slaughtering them where they stood. But Abbot Strensham came from the altar where he had been celebrating mass, and holding the consecrated Sacrament in his hands forbade the king to commit any such sacrilege within the walls of the church; and refused to let him pass until he had promised to spare the lives of those who had taken shelter in the house of peace. The king gave his word to the abbot, and then monks, abbot, soldiers, knights, and king, all formed in procession and went 'throughe the churche and the qwere to the hy awtere with grete devocion praysenge God, and yeldynge unto hym conveniente lawde.' So the pursuit of the vanquished was turned into a thanksgiving for victory. Not, however, if a contemporary account is to be believed, until the soldiers had already slain many in

of him in Edward IVth's collar of roses and suns, with an inscription beneath in these words:—

'Jesu Christ, most of myght,
Have mercy on John de Wenlok knyght,
And on his wyfe Elizabeth,
Who out of this world is past by death,
Which founded this chapel here.
Help them with your hearty prayer,
That they may come unto that place
Where ever is joy and solace.'

But there is no doubt this was set up by Lord Wenlock himself when he built the chantry.

the churchyard and in the church itself. [MS. Cleop. C. III. fol. 236.]

But Edward's clemency soon vanished when he left the abbey, and took up his quarters at a house hard by. The same afternoon he had the young Prince of Wales brought into his presence, reproached him with bitter words, struck him on the mouth with his gauntletted hand, and thus gave the signal, whether intentional or not, for the brutal assassination which followed, and in which his brother the Duke of York, then only nineteen years of age, but afterwards the cruel Richard III., is said to have taken an active part. The Prince's blood still stains the floor of the room in a house in the High Street. The next morning but one, Monday the 6th, the principal prisoners, to the number of fourteen, were brought before a drum-head court-martial, of which the Duke of York was president, and from thence they were led to immediate execution.[1]

On Tuesday, May 7, Edward IV. departed for Worcester, and with the burial of the slaughtered noblemen and gentlemen in the abbey this sanguinary episode in its history was closed. But on account of the bloodshed within its walls, the abbey was not used for divine service for a whole month afterwards, when it and the burial-ground were ceremonially cleansed and re-dedicated on May 30, 'at the cost of the monastery, having been polluted with blood,' by the Bishop of Down and Connor, acting as suffragan to the Bishop of Worcester.

The body of the murdered young Prince of Wales was buried at the entrance of the choir, just westward of the Duke of Warwick's grave, and a memorial brass was placed as near the spot as could be guessed at the end of the last

[1] There is a French MS. in the public library of Ghent which contains an account of the battle, and also two contemporary pictures: one representing the battle-field, the other the execution of Somerset and the rest *in the presence of Edward IV.* An account of the MS. will be found in 'Archæologia,' vol. xxi.

century. No trace of the grave is now to be found, but Sir William Dugdale seems to have seen memorials of both the prince and the duke. The bodies of the Duke of Somerset, Lord John Somerset, the Earl of Devonshire, and Sir Walter Courtenay, and some others of those who were slain in battle or beheaded, were buried in St. James's Chapel, the so-called 'Chapter-house.' Whether Lord Wenlock was laid in the abbey is uncertain, but it is known that the prior of St. John of Jerusalem was removed to be buried in his own priory at Clerkenwell.[1] Sir Humphrey Hadley and Sir Edmund Havard were both 'buryed in the body of the sayd monastery churche called the parish church, besides St. George's Chappell.' Sir John Delves and his son were 'both buryed besides St. John's Chappell in the sayd parish churche, and theyr bodyes afterwards taken from thence to their own countrey.' Sir William Newbury was buried in the parish church 'beside the font on the south side.' Mr. Henry Wrattesley in St. John Baptist's Chapel on the south side of the monastic part of the church. Others are mentioned as being 'buried in divers places' in the church and churchyard.

On May 21, Edward IV. reached the Tower of London, and the next morning Henry VI.—son of the victor of Agincourt, the king who had occupied for forty-nine years the throne of his father and his grandfather—was found dead in his prison-chamber in the same fortress.

[1] A monument at the east end of the south aisle has been usually called that of the Duke of Somerset, but the Beaufort arms were then, as they still are, those of France and England quarterly, and the shield on this tomb bears a lion rampant, and he was buried, beyond doubt, in the chapel of St. James, northward of the Warwick chantry. It is probably the tomb of Sir Thomas Morley, who married Anne, daughter of Edward, Lord Despencer (the kneeling knight), and widow of Hugh, Lord Hastings, and died in 1417. The arms of Morley, a lion rampant, sa. crowned or, are on one of the shields at Lord Despencer's feet in the Register.

THE MONASTERY AND ITS END.

During all the centuries that the descendants of Fitz-Hamon were making more or less stir in the world, the life of the monastic community which he had established at Tewkesbury, went on with a quiet regularity, which gave no incident to history. Its abbots were not men of such public mark as to have much more than their names handed down to posterity; and perhaps the value of a saying known to later times was already appreciated in Tewkesbury Abbey, 'Happy are the people who have no history.'[1]

'And what were these monks?' some reader may ask; 'were they not a pack of fat fellows who lived upon what they got out of other people, and spent their time in idleness, vice, and good eating and drinking?' On the contrary, they were a pack of very industrious fellows, whether they were fat or lean, who worked hard in the field and in the study, who lived moderate and even abstemious lives, who wrote a great many books, who said a great many prayers and sung a great many psalms and hymns, and who were content to go down to their graves without any praise of men for what they did. Their graves, like their lives, were marked simply with a cross, their names were recorded in the abbey register simply as the names of Brother John

[1] Abbot Alan [1187–1202] on whose tomb still appears the inscription 'Alanus Dominus Abbas,' was an author of some note in his day, and has left us a book on the life and times of St. Thomas Becket, with whom he was personally acquainted. The Bodleian Library also possesses some of his sermons: at Cambridge there is a volume of his letters to Henry II. and others, and several other works are attributed to his pen. [See Pitts, *De Illustribus Angliæ scriptoribus.*]

or Brother Thomas, who died on such a day, and for whose soul prayers were to be offered by the survivors that the Lord the Judge would have mercy upon them. There are many of us who would be very much disinclined to live the ascetic and hard working lives that the monks did, who would be very glad to die as they did; even if death came upon them as they were stretched upon a bed as narrow and hard as a coffin, and had nothing in their sight but two or three books, two or three brother monks, and the figure of their Redeemer on the Cross.

The Benedictines—and the Tewkesbury monks belonged to their order—were always a very industrious race. Some of ours worked on the lands belonging to the monastery, looked after a herd of about 100 cattle and a flock of about 200 sheep, with 300 or 400 pigs, and a good deal of poultry. Some of them cultivated cabbages, beans, and salads in the gardens, and perhaps a few of the flowers that delighted mankind and womankind before bulbs, and 'sorts,' and break-jaw hothouse names, were cared for. Some of them also went to market with the wool, the lard, the tallow, the skins and the hides that were provided by their flocks and herds; and in the year 1385 they sold 80 shillingsworth of wool, 40 gallons of lard at eightpence a gallon, 38 stones of tallow at eightpence a stone, 167 skins at three halfpence each, and 41 at twopence halfpenny each, with 373 hides of oxen, which fetched fifty-one pounds.

And as monks must eat as well as other people, however ascetic they may be, the marketers had to bring back their baskets full in exchange. 'In the flesh of porkers, calves, and pigs, for fryings and for half-messes, and for double pittances,' at several times of the year, they expended the luxurious sum of thirty-eight shillings and threepence. But on their eels, and their lampreys, and their gudgeons, and their herrings, with a few salmon for a change now and then, and nine horse-loads of salt fish for Lent (which cost them five pounds), they spent as much as fifteen pounds

four shillings in the year; while as for eggs, the good men ate as many as 69,080; for which they paid fourteen pounds, which comes to nearly 200, or ten pennyworth, among them every day! Fish and eggs are very nice for a change, but if some of us had them day after day, and a slice of beef or mutton only now and then, we should perhaps raise an echo of the imprisoned French Abbé's lament, who, however fond of game, cried out '*Toujours perdrix!*' at last.

But farm work and garden work engaged only a few of the monks, and chiefly the lay-brethren. Those who were well educated, and the clerical monks especially, were daily at work in the cloisters. Each had his own little recess with a window in it, such as you may still see at Gloucester, and there he had a desk on which he wrote 'glosses,' that is, commentaries on the Bible, and other devotional works; or where he copied out service books, Bibles, great tomes of the fathers, educational books, all to keep up a supply which was enormous even in the days when each page had to be written laboriously on parchment, instead of being printed from type in a steam press. The Benedictine Cloister was, in fact, always a busy manufactory of books; author, scribe, binder, and illuminator, all congregating there to supply the wants of the monastery and of the outer world: and doubtless a goodly number of books went forth from the cloister of Tewkesbury to carry light and refreshment to many a grateful reader. It is strange to think of such a busy scene going on year by year where now—thanks to our ignorant and covetous forefathers, the Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—there is nothing to be seen but a cow feeding.

But the Benedictines were not only an industrious race, as farmers, authors, and scribes. They were ever a praying race, the key to their lives being contained in the monkish motto, 'Laborare et Orare.' Seven times at least, during the day and night, all of them were rung in from the home fields, or the cloisters, or the dormitory, to take their place

in the stalls, and offer up a service of praise, chiefly in the words of the Psalms (which they sung over once every week), to pray in such collects as still form the backbone of our public prayers, to hear the Scriptures read, and to listen to the examples set them in the lives of the saints. This, in addition to a public celebration of the Holy Eucharist, said in the presence of the whole monastery every morning, and to many said at other times of the day by the clerical monks in commemoration, before God, of the souls of the departed, chiefly the departed of Tewkesbury and its monastery.

Thus the abbey and its inmates went on for the best part of five hundred years. Fifteen generations or so of Benedictine monks occupied successively the cells of the dormitories, the desks of the cloisters, the stalls of the church, and the graves of the cemetery. There are no traditions of evil clinging to their memory, while their beautiful abbey, even yet, speaks to us traditions of good, if all other voices were silent. And if by chance we should come across a fragment of stone on which loving hands had inscribed 'Pray ye for ye soule of Brother John,' is there any reason why we should think of Brother John with superior scorn, or turn from his memorial with contemptuous gesture? Is there no reason why we should feel a charitable impulse to show our fellowship with him in the communion of saints by doing what we are asked to do for our prayerful and industrious Christian brother, monk as he was?

But the time came when no more generations of monks were to work in the cloister, to pray in the abbey, or to sleep the sleep of Lazarus in the cemetery. Warnings of change had been sounding around them for many years, and at last they came so close, and in such a form, that no new monks came to the abbey; and as the old ones died off, the community was reduced to about forty, which was probably not a quarter of their usual number, and less

by seventeen than at the original foundation by Fitz-Hamon.[1]

How the last remnant of the monks met the final blow in 1539 is not on record. But it is likely that, as in many other cases, a gradual weeding of their number had taken place, until the majority of those who remained were willing to accept the terms offered them, to give up the monastery and all its possessions, and to retire on pensions. Abbot John Wiche, or Wakeman, who had been abbot since 1531, was evidently a willing party to the surrender, for he received a pension of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, with the house and park of Forthampton; and when the diocese of Gloucester was founded he was consecrated its first bishop on September 15, 1541, by Cranmer, Bonnor, and Thirlby. The pension was nearly as much as the pensions of all the other monks put together, for the whole thirty-eight only received 286*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the majority being sent on the world with annuities of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[2]

[1] For an account of the steps which led up to the dissolution of the monasteries, of the dissolution, and of its results, the reader is referred to my 'Reformation of the Church of England,' Part I. chapter vi.

[2] The names of the last monks were as follows:—

John Wiche, or Wakeman, Abbot.
John *Beley*, Prior.
John Bromsgrove, Prior of Deerhurst.
Robert Circester, Prior of St. James.
William *Didcote*, Prior of Craneborne.
Robert *Cheltenham*, B.D.
Edmond *Stanley*.
Thomas *Stourton*.
Thomas *Winchecombe*.
Thomas *Lemynton*.
John *Cheltenham*.
Roger *Compton*.
Thomas *Twynynge*.
Richard *Compton*.
Thomas *Teynton*.
John Morley.
John *Tewkesburie*.
John Leckehampton.
William *Streynsham*.
Robert *Aston*.
John *Ashton*.
John *Gales*.
Edward *Stanwere*.
Thomas *Bristow*.
John *Derehurst*.
John Hartland.
Thomas Newport.
Roger *Preston*.
John Evisham.

The surrender of the abbey and its possessions 'to the use of the King's Majesty, and of his heirs and successors for ever,' is dated January 9, 1539, and is said to be the latest of all such surrenders. Its annual value was set down as being 1,595*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* leaving 1,044*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* after the payment of the pensions (which quickly fell in), and not including in that sum the site, which was sold to Thomas Stroud, Walter Erle, and James Paget for 2284*l.*, nor the capital value of the abbey buildings. The schedule of these buildings is thus set out.

'*Houses and buildings assigned to remain undefaced.*

'The lodging called the New Warke, leading from the gate to the late abbot's lodging, with buttery, pantry, cellar, kitching, larder and pastry thereto adjoining. The late abbot's lodging, the hostery, the great gate entering into the court, with the lodging over the same: the abbot's stable, bakehouse, brewhouse and slaughterhouse, the almery, barn, dairy house, the great barn next Aven, the malting-house, with the garners in the same, the ox-house in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the lodging over the same.'

But with this care to preserve the abbot's mansion and the domestic buildings belonging to it there was a mar-

Philip *Kardiff.*	Richard *Godeston.*
Thomas *Thorneburie.*	Thomas *Craneborne.*
Henry *Worcester.*	John *Welnesford.*
Richard *Cheltenham.*	Alexander *Beley.*
Giles Marlowe.	Richard *Wimbourn.*

It is singular, and gives a suspicion of fictitiousness to the document, that thirty-one of these names, those in italics, are the names of manors belonging to the abbey, of benefices in its patronage, or of places from which it received tithes. All the other eight are names of places in the diocese of Worcester, in which the abbey was situated. Were these pensioners men of straw? And were the real monks sent adrift penniless? No hypothesis of fraud or crime could go beyond the real frauds and crimes committed by the iniquitous men who managed the dissolution of the monasteries.

vellous contempt for all connected with the good works for which the abbey was maintained: and the first entry in the next schedule is eminently characteristic of the godless spirit by which those engaged in the dissolution of the monasteries were animated. The Father of Evil himself might have written it, and no doubt he guided the pens of those who did so.

'*Deemed to be superfluous.*

'The church, with chappels, cloisters, chapterhouse, misericord, the two dormitories, the infirmary, with chapels and lodgings within the same; the workhouse, with another house adjoining to the same, the convent-kitchen, the library, the old hostery, the chamberer's lodging, the new hall, the old parlor adjoining to the abbot's lodging; the cellarer's lodging, the poultry-house, the garner, the almery, and all other houses and lodgings above not reserved.'

It need hardly be added that the bells, eight of them, were ordered to be melted down, with the lead of all the roofs: that the jewels were reserved to the use of the King's Majesty, as well as all the 'plate of silver, ornaments, copes,' and every thing else of value.

Thus it was intended that all connected with the service of God in divine worship and with the care of the poor should be utterly destroyed, and that nothing of the glorious buildings should remain except the abbot's house, which was to be let, or to be given to some dependent of the court.

But there is a Providence above all the evil intentions of men. It has so happened that while all which was thus intended to be reserved has utterly passed away, the church and chapels which were deemed superfluous having been subsequently purchased of Henry VIII.[1] for 453*l.* (a sum equivalent to more than 5,000*l.* of our time) they are still

[1] This most disgraceful act of the crown is illustrated by the agreement on which the subsequent letters patent for the sale was founded:

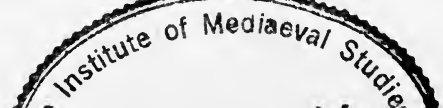
the home of God's worship and the glory of Tewkesbury, though no longer in the hands of monks.

> 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways.'

The monks did their duty under the guidance of a good Providence for many a generation, and yet their work was that of an 'old order' ripe for change when they passed away. If we had lived at Tewkesbury to know them and their work at the best, we should no doubt have seen their departure take place with a feeling of intense regret. After they were gone, too, bad times came upon the church, and the spiritual interests of the people were no more cared for by the powers which drove away the monks and appropriated all the endowments of the abbey than if the people had been so many cats and dogs. But again the 'old order changeth,' the pastoral care of the people is well provided for by fresh endowments, the divine service of the noble sanctuary is offered with care and love, and the former beauty of the minster revives under the hands of its restorers to declare that there is a continuity of church life from the old order to the new, no less than there is a continuity of material existence in the walls of the well enduring fabric from the twelfth to the twentieth century.

'24 Die Junii Anno 34. For the parishioners of Tewkesbury, Mem. The said parishioners shall buy of the king's highness the one part of the said church, with the choir, cross aisle, chapels, revestry, and steeple, and also the iron, lead, glass, timber, and stone of the same, together also with all the ground and soil of the same, and also the churchyard, and all other, the premises, for the sum of 453*l.*, to be paid in form following; that is to say, in hand 200*l.*, at the feast of Easter next coming 100*l.*, and at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God then next following 153*l.*; and the said parishioners to bear and find the reparations of the said church perpetually. Rychard Ryche.'

The sum thus guaranteed was that at which the lead, 1,280 square feet, at 31*l.*, and the eight bells, weighing 14,200 pounds, at 142*l.*, were valued in the Court of Augmentations.


Institute of Mediaeval Studies

TEWKESBURY ABBEY IN 1732.

A WALK ROUND THE ABBEY.

The ordinary approach to the abbey is by a pathway through the churchyard leading to the porch, and thus the north side is the first presented to our view. This was also the parochial side of the church in ancient days, the porch being provided for the parishioners; while the monks, whose domestic buildings were to the south of the abbey, had their entrance by the cloisters and the still magnificent doorway which led from them into the south aisle of the nave.

The North Side.

Looking at the church on this side we observe a nave of considerable length, the line unbroken except by the porch and a solitary buttress of late erection half way between it and the transept. The windows of the aisle and of the clere-story are not those which originally pierced the Norman walls, but of fourteenth century date; and their insertion must have much diminished the massive strength of the walls, rendering an intermediate buttress necessary between the transept and the porch. The original windows were doubtless similar to those in the transept and tower, and such as may still be seen in the nave of Durham Cathedral. The ancient roof was removed and the present one substituted at a much lower pitch in 1720; the western gable being annihilated.

The porch is a larger one than is often met with in Norman buildings; and, though not equal to that of

Malmesbury Abbey, is very grand in its proportions. It has an external and an internal doorway, both being circular, and consisting of several mouldings, supported on shafts as in the great western arch. These mouldings are quite simple, not exhibiting any of the ornamental sculpture so often found in Norman doorways, such as the scripture histories at Malmesbury, or the zodiacal signs at Iffley. Over the external arch is a figure of the Blessed Virgin and her Holy Child, much mutilated by those who took it for an idol of popery, and were ignorant that it is a symbol of the Incarnation in which the Mother personifying the Church presents the holy Jesus to us as the object of adoration.

On the wall of the transept may be seen the traces of a groined roof which belonged to a building of four bays that has altogether vanished. Further relics of this building are to be noticed in the three beautiful early English arches and their shafts which remain on the western wall of the chapel beyond. What this building was cannot at present be determined. It may have been a distinct chapel, but was plainly connected by the three arches with the eastward chapel. There seems some reason, however, for believing that it was a chapel dedicated to St. Eustachius, which was built by Prior Henry de Banbury and dedicated on September 20, the feast of that saint, in the year 1246. A square campanile tower of considerable size stood until a few years ago on the site of the school, and it is possible that there was a range of buildings between it and the church, of which this was the last trace.

The north transept originally ended eastward in an apse similar to that still remaining in the south transept, and this was designated the chapel of St. Nicholas. This latter was taken down about 1237 and a square chapel erected on its site by Prior Sipton, the plan of which formed a prolongation of the transept eastward. This was again, and not long afterwards, enlarged by the addition of

TEWKESBURY ABBEY.
West End.

another of equal size at its northern side, which was dedicated to St. James. These chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James have been mistaken for a chapter house, and were for many years used as a grammar school, being entirely walled off from the church.

The West Front.

Returning westward and turning round the corner beyond the porch we come upon the beautiful arch which forms the principal feature of the western front. It is a lofty recess 65 feet high and 34 feet wide, flanked by seven columns[1] on either side, every opposite pair of which advance nearer to each other until the opening becomes about half the width where it is filled up with the wall, at 9 feet from the front. This wall is now pierced with a perpendicular window of seven lights, which was erected in 1686 to supply the place of an earlier one that had been blown down in 1661, and with a small pointed door having an ogee hood moulding. On each side of the seven round arches which surmount the columns the wall is decorated with a double arcade of small Norman arches, and at each corner there is a turret and pinnacle of very peculiar form, the lower portion of each being of Norman work, but the spire part very much later.

But this western front, fine as it is, has degenerated greatly from the original design of the Norman architect. There is some rough masonry in the south clerestory which shows that western towers were contemplated, and that the smaller turrets were an after-thought, substituted for the towers, perhaps, when the spire was added to the central tower as being more suitable for the size of the church.[2] As this noble arch stands at present, it is ex-

[1] The innermost of these is buried in the wall of perpendicular date which now fills up the opening.

[2] There were once three towers, however, to a much smaller

tremely beautiful in itself, but it has an incomplete and inconsequential appearance, seeming to want a *raison d'être*, and being too large a jewel for its setting. In the original composition there would be a mass of support on either side of it which would give it a new beauty, and the arch would exist not for itself alone, but as member of a west front altogether consistent and grand.

In these two western towers the bells would no doubt have been hung, the central tower being kept open nearly to the top; but when the change of design took place a Campanile, or belfry tower, was erected on the north of the church, which (like the splendid campanile of Salisbury) was destroyed, though only in the year 1817.

The South Side.

This side of the abbey church is now as much exposed to view as the north, but anciently it was hidden, in a great degree, by the cloisters and the conventual buildings which rose above them and abutted upon the wall of the church. It was never, therefore, intended to be so completely in sight as it is at present, and the rather blank appearance of its wall is thus accounted for.

The cloisters occupied a square of about eighty feet length on each side; but there are traces on the wall of the aisle of the barrel vault of some large hall which extended beyond them at their western side, while on their eastern side would stand the chapter house; the refectory, or great hall, perhaps, occupying the south side; and the principal domestic buildings, the two dormitories, the guest house or hostelry, etc., extended to beyond the gateway still standing not far from its west end.[1] A few years ago many foundation

monastic church, that of St. John at Chester. Only one, a western tower, survives the miserable ruin of that noble house of God.

[1] The buildings of a monastery like Tewkesbury were very large and numerous. How large may still be seen at Durham, where the monks'

South-East View of the Abbey.

walls existed under the turf, which would have been of great value in determining the positions which the various buildings occupied; but they were removed for the purpose of levelling the surface of the field, and it is believed that little now remains of such valuable archæological evidence.

But the wall of the aisle still shows that the fourteenth century cloisters which existed at the dissolution of the monastery were of a character similar to those at Gloucester. The springings of the fan vaulting still remain in the wall, together with the arcaded panelling of that side; while the noble 'tabernacled' doorway still tells the height of the vaulting.

Outside the church itself, the life of the monks centred on this southern side where the cloisters stood; and somewhere near the spot—perhaps in the space enclosed by the four aisles of the cloisters—most of them were laid in the grave. It is puzzling to common sense and common feeling that every trace of the men and of their splendid buildings should have been so completely swept away; and one cannot help wondering whether, in time to come, similar ruthless destruction of our public buildings by private persons will ever again be permitted.

Among the buildings enumerated by the commissioners at the dissolution, there is a group which evidently belonged to this portion of the abbey, namely, 'the cloister, chapter house, fratry, St. Michael's chapel, hall, farmury [infirmary], and gatehouse.' All the particulars that can at present be discovered respecting these buildings, must be condensed into the statement handed down by the abbey annals, that in the year 1259 the chapter house was newly paved at the expense of the convent, and that in the year 1243 the dormitory had been rebuilt.

dormitory has lately been added to the splendid chapter library, and is the longest room in England except Westminster Hall. The old gateway of Durham Abbey is still used as the entrance to the square in which the canons' houses have replaced the monastic buildings.

The East End.

The exterior of the choir, with its surrounding chapels, is singularly beautiful, though its beauty is in some degree marred by the vacancy between the two easternmost ones, where the Lady chapel is said to have stood. Although much altered from its original Norman character, the original apsidal form has been retained by the fourteenth century architect, three straight walls being substituted for the curved one which originally ended the choir, noble traceried windows for small round-headed lights, and a lovely open parapet added above all, which looks like a fringe of petrified lace. The symmetry of the whole is much diminished by the lowered pitch of the roof—the mediæval one having been replaced by that now existing in 1603—yet, as it stands, the choir presents a fine example of what may be done by outline and the combination of comparatively simple elements in architectural composition.

The polygonal chapels surrounding the choir appear to have formed part of the architect's original design when reconstructing the choir. They are now five in number, but there can be no doubt that a sixth was intended, if not actually erected, in the space between the two easternmost of them. Such a 'chevet' is common in foreign churches, but the only instance in England of an exactly similar arrangement, is that of the Abbey at Westminster, between the whole choir of which and that of Tewkesbury there is a very remarkable resemblance of plan.

That a chapel was intended in this space is beyond doubt; that it was built at the same time with the others is extremely probable, and it would almost certainly be, in such a position of honour, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. There was a Lady chapel adjoining the presbytery, that called also the Trinity chapel, but there are sometimes two Lady chapels in a church, as is the case in Bristol

Stowe, Phot.] NORTH-EAST VIEW OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY. [*Heliotype.*

Cathedral, and there evidently were at Tewkesbury. For there was a 'chaplain of Our Lady's chapel' among the monks pensioned off at the Reformation, and this title indicates a position of more importance than that of a chantry priest. The vault in which the Duchess of Clarence was buried is also said to have been made at the back of the high altar, in front of St. Mary's chapel; and it seems to be distinguished from the smaller Lady chapel by being called 'Capella Beatæ Mariæ *ecclesiæ conventualis*,' as if to define it as a public chapel, and not a private chantry. There is a tradition that the Lady chapel was 100 feet long (several feet more than that of the choir), and although this tradition is not traceable beyond the last century, it may represent one of earlier date. At the same time there is no reliable evidence of foundation walls ever being uncovered that indicated a chapel of so large a size, and there is no documentary reference to any such. Upon the whole it seems probable that a chapel similar to the others originally occupied what is now a vacant spot, that it was pulled down shortly before the dissolution for the purpose of erecting a more splendid one in its place, and that the latter was never completed. Some clustered pillars and springings of the groined ceiling are still visible; as also are the western jambs of two tall windows, on which are the marks indicating where the irons between the mullions have been wrenched away. Some oak-leaf and acorn capitals give indications of very beautiful details: and if the chapel was ever completed of the size traditionally indicated, it must have rivalled the Lady chapels of Gloucester, Hereford, and Lichfield; and must have added very greatly to the beauty of the church, both within and without.

The Tower.

A short distance from the north-east corner of the abbey is also the best spot from which to see the central tower,

which is 132 feet high, and 46 feet square where it joins the four arms of the church.

The height and the ornamental character of this tower are such as are rarely to be found in Norman churches, the common form of Norman towers being such as is found at Romsey Abbey and Winchester Cathedral. But two towers almost exactly similar to that of Tewkesbury stand at the west end of Durham Cathedral; the latter having, however, four arcades, and the uppermost but one being entirely open, as the towers were the belfries of the mediæval cathedral.

The apparent height of the tower would be much less if the four roofs stood at the ancient pitch as they do at Romsey and Winchester, but the central point of the church reached still higher heavenward when the tower was surmounted by a tall spire of timber covered with lead, which was built about 1140 by the first Earl of Gloucester, and fell down while Divine worship was going on upon Easter Day in 1559. A similar spire at St. Paul's Cathedral—100 feet higher than that of Salisbury—was destroyed by fire on June 4, 1561.

The lower stage of this tower is similar to that of Romsey, and seems to have been part of the original design of Fitz-Hamon's architect. The three arcades above are evidently of a rather later date.[1] The present parapet and the pinnacles were built, as an inscription records, in 1660, but one of the pinnacles was rebuilt and the others were repaired in 1825.

If the bystander is fortunate, he will hear a sweet peal of eight bells ring out from this beautiful tower; or, almost sweeter hear them chime the hour of waning day in the soft stillness of a summer evening. But it was not originally intended that the bells should be where they now are, a campanile tower being erected for them near the

[1] A comparison with the uniformity of design which is shown in the western towers of Durham will confirm this opinion.

north transept. In the early days of large peals, the architects seem to have mistrusted their central towers, or perhaps the monks found the bells more convenient when at a lower elevation.[1] It was a happy discovery to find that they could be placed high up above all interruption of sound and confusion of echo, high up in what mediæval cosmographers and divines called 'the heaven of the birds and the heaven of the winds,' where their sound might go forth as on wings, and be whirled round in airy cadences, and fall down to the ears of those below almost as if they were the songs that angels sing to tell good tidings of peace and glory to every living thing in earth and heaven.

The Interior.

And now we may wend our way back to the porch, and shall find that the promise of so beautiful an exterior is more than fulfilled within.

The abbey consists of four principal divisions:

I. The Nave and its aisles.

II. The Transept, including the tower.

III. The Choir proper, sometimes called the 'presbytery,' the space within the eight pillars of the choir in which Divine service is ordinarily performed.

IV. The Ambulatory, or choir aisle, which is intended for processional services, and out of which open the chapels.

These may be best inspected in the order in which they are here given.

[1] There is not much history for bell hunters in Tewkesbury Abbey. The Annals record that in the year 1224 'Robertus Travers, episcopus de Kildelo, dedicavit duo majora signa in turri, in hyeme:' and the peal of eight bells, weighing altogether 14,200 pounds, by estimation, was sold to the parishioners by Henry VIII. at the Dissolution. Four of these soon disappeared; the remaining four were increased to five in 1612; the five were recast into six in 1632, the six were recast in 1696, and two more added, making the present peal: but several have been again recast since they returned to the number of eight, as appears by the churchwardens' accounts.

The Nave.

Entering the abbey by the porch, and observing the disused and shattered holy water stoup on the left hand pillar, it is best to turn westward and take a general view of the church from beneath the west window. The eye then rests upon a beautiful interior in which the work of successive architects has designedly or by accident passed gradually from massive simplicity to richness and variety, until roof, window and chantry all combine in exalting and glorifying the mercy seat of the earthly temple.

The nave is one of a class familiar to the eye which is familiar with English minsters. Gloucester, St. Alban's, Norwich, Ely, Peterborough, Durham,[1] all show the massive single columns which the western nations at first used in their churches as the natural adaptation of the basilica, or Imperial Hall of Justice, which was so often consecrated as the grand home of Divine worship when Christianity became an imperial religion.

The length of this part of the church, between the west wall and the west side of the cross aisle is 165 feet, its width from wall to wall 71 feet, and the width of the central passage between the pillars 33 feet; the area thus containing five squares. The pillars are each 6 feet 3 inches in diameter, and 30 feet high, and the vaulting supported by them rises to 58 feet from the floor. These dimensions are so much smaller than those of Gloucester, that the latter would just hold the nave of Tewkesbury, as one of a nest of boxes will hold the next in size; leaving no space between the outside walls of the smaller and the inside walls of the larger church.

The seven grand columns on either side, with the four

[1] The nave and aisles of Durham Cathedral were being built by Bishop Flambard at the same time as Tewkesbury Abbey; having been begun in 1104, and completed in 1133. Christ Church, Hampshire, which was also built by Flambard, was completed about the time that Abbot Gerald was beginning Tewkesbury.

piers and responds east and west of them, support sixteen plain semicircular arches, which carry walls nearly two yards thick to bear the roof of the nave. Much of these upper walls has been covered up by the addition of the groined ceiling. In their original condition each bay of them was pierced with a pair of double arches opening from the triforium, and a small clerestory window above giving light to the roof. The triforium arches still remain in their original state, forming openings about four feet in width and the same in height, divided into two narrow arches, which are supported in the middle by characteristic shafts similar to those which may be seen in the arcades of the tower. These triforium openings are unusually small as compared with those of most other Norman minsters, where, as at Durham and Ely, they are generally noble openings corresponding in size with the arches below. The clerestory windows have been enlarged into rather dumpy three light windows, doubtless with the object of giving more light to the roof.

The original Norman ceiling was probably one of moulded timbers and panelled boards, similar to that still existing at Peterborough: and the first important alteration in the abbey was the substitution for this of the present groined roof. Although this has not been well worked in with the Norman walls, reducing the height of the nave too much, as it does, at the sides, yet in itself it is a beautiful feature of the church. It is a simple pointed vault, having pointed openings where the triforium and clerestory arches occur, and supported by ribs, which necessarily intersect each other, since their lower ends have to meet at the pillars, the intersections being decorated with carved bosses. These bosses each contain some subject of scripture history: the subjects coming in regular order, and beginning with the great figures of Adam and Eve, which each support one of the westernmost ribs. The ribs and bosses were much more beautiful when they were coloured

and gilt, as they were, of course, intended to be; and it was, perhaps, well worth while to change the small clerestory windows into larger ones for the purpose of lighting them up. Aged persons in Tewkesbury still remember the roof in its proper condition, and it seems to be only about half a century ago that the queer weakness for yellow wash which possessed our grandfathers, buried the gold and colour out of sight.

From the appearance of the Despencer arms upon this ceiling, it may be concluded that it was constructed in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Despencers first coming to Tewkesbury in 1321.

Another great alteration has been made in the nave, of which no trace remains. The monastic part of the church extended down to the first pair of pillars west of the cross aisle, and between those pillars stood the rood screen, whence in Benedictine churches the lessons were always read to the congregation in the nave. Of this screen nothing whatever is known: but the time of its removal was probably when the monks' stalls were taken from their ancient place, under and west of the tower, and set up in the chancel or presbytery, which was in the year 1602.[1]

The present west window dates from 1686, but it is said to be a copy of an earlier one, which was blown in during

[1] When the nave ceased to be used by the parishioners for divine worship it was sometimes, at least, used for very odd purposes. For the churchwardens' books record that plays were acted there in 1578, and other years; sacred plays, it is true, like Hannah More's dramas, or the popular profanity which attracts fashionable folk who have not much to do with their time or their money to Ammergau, but yet unmistakeable theatrical performances. Some of the 'properties' recorded as 'church goods' in 1578, 1584, 1585, and later years, are 'sheepe skyns for Christ's garments,' 'shippe skins for the sinners' gears,' 'viij heades of heare for the Apostles and x beardes,' and 'a face or vysor for the devyll.' The existence of such entries was long disputed, but the book containing them was recovered, and restored to the churchwardens' hands, in 1847.

a storm in 1661. On either side of it there are newel stairs leading up to the turrets.

The aisles of the nave have also been covered with vaulting of about the same date as that of the central part. They are very narrow, being a little under 13 feet in width, and perhaps their original roofs were simple half vaults abutting against the triforium walls. The windows of these aisles were originally narrow round-headed openings without any dividing mullions. The openings were enlarged, pointed, and Decorated tracery inserted in them, at the same date that the other changes in the nave took place.

The NORTH AISLE contains no special object of interest except the knight's tomb commonly called Lord Wenlock's, on which some remarks will be found at page 89.

The SOUTH AISLE has in the pavement at the east end an inscription commemorating in Norman French a person of whom nothing whatever is known, in the words 'Leger de Parr gyt ici Dieux de sa alme en eit merci.' May the prayer of the unknown be heard by Him to whom he is known! At the same end of this aisle, just beyond the door which led to the cloisters, is the tomb traditionally assigned to the Duke of Somerset; but some remarks about this will also be found at page 92.

THE TRANSEPTS.

The cross aisle or transept of the abbey is now entirely open, but the centre portion under the tower was, until 1602, occupied as the choir of the church. Such a central arrangement is one peculiarly well suited to English feeling and to congregational services, the singers and clergy being thus brought into the midst of the congregation although partitioned off by open parcloses. It is the ancient basilica arrangement of the primitive church, as may still be seen in St. Clements at Rome: and a fine example of its adaptation to English use by mediæval

architects is to be seen in the noble church of St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire.

The SOUTH TRANSEPT still retains its original apse, another striking relic of the basilica arrangement, which has been already referred to at page 28. This apse was fitted with an altar, and used as a chapel, but the dedication name of it has not been discovered.[1] The fourteenth century window over the altar has been blocked up by the wall of the chapel now used as a vestry. A newel stair in the south east corner of the transept leads up to a room which has been absurdly called the Nuns' Prison, and which had formerly an arch opening into the transept.[2] But many parts of large churches were formerly utilised for purposes connected with divine service, which are now left to the dust and the darkness; and if any one were wildly to conjecture that it was a chamber where wax tapers and incense were stored by the sacristan, they would probably be nearer to the truth. It is also observable that altars were placed in many such out of the way localities—there is one still existing at the end of the north triforium of the choir at Gloucester—and that there were annual, or more frequent, celebrations of the Holy Eucharist at them as a memorial that the place was sacred.

THE TOWER space of the cross aisle is the place where the young Duke of Warwick directed that his body should be laid, and where afterwards was laid at his feet the murdered young son of Henry VI. A small square brass

[1] Probably the two beautiful chapels of St. Paul and St. Andrew at Gloucester were originally of the same character. In referring to them it may be pointed out that the apsidal chapel of Tewkesbury transept offers an excellent opportunity for colour decoration of a basilican type, done in the spirit in which St. Andrew's Chapel has been beautified.

[2] There are many people who cannot hear about monks without immediately thinking of nuns. So one used to hear the triforium galleries of Westminster Abbey called 'Nuns' Walks,' where probably no nun ever went in her life.

plate, commemorating the latter, was inserted in the pavement in the year 1796, and it probably marks very nearly the spot where the two graves are situated. [See page 91.]

In the original design of the abbey the central tower was intended to be open nearly to the top, as in the central tower at Durham, and the matchless 'lantern' at Ely. Above the present groined ceiling there is a triforium gallery, as there is in the former of the two churches referred to, a beautiful arcade of eight narrow arches on either side opening on to the area of the tower. Above each arcade are three tall, round-headed arches, the two outermost of which enclose in their upper part the two windows which are seen outside on either side of the ancient gable line, a third being made impossible by the gable itself coming in the place where it would otherwise have been. Under these windows on the inside there is an ornamental arcade of eight small shafted arches inserted in the wall, and this runs round the north, east, and south sides, the west being left undecorated as out of view when looking towards the altar. All this decoration is found upon that portion of the tower which is plain masonry outside, and this doubtless marks the place at which the timber and board ceiling was inserted to form the top of the lantern. Above this, that portion of the tower which is so elaborately decorated outside is perfectly plain within, louvred openings to let out the sound of the bells being the only break in the walls.[1]

The groined ceiling which takes away this 'lantern' character and reduces the interior of the tower space to the same height as the rest of the church, was probably inserted by Guy de Brien and his wife, the arms of De Brien and Despencer appearing among the ribs of the groining.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT was originally constructed in precisely the same manner as that on the south, with an

[1] The tower of Pershore Abbey is of a similar character, and has lately been opened out to the church.

apsidal chapel and a triforium above opening into it. The chapel was, in this case, dedicated to St. Nicholas. Some noble additions were, however, made to this transept in the thirteenth century, part of which still remain.

Prior Henry Sipton destroyed the apsidal chapel of St. Nicholas, in 1237, and built in the place of it a chapel about 24 feet square opening into the transept by the old Norman arch, and into the ambulatory of the choir by a wide new arch constructed for the purpose; an arrangement similar to that of St. Andrew's chapel in the south transept of Gloucester Cathedral. Very shortly afterwards, perhaps as a developement of the original plan, another square was erected to the north of this for a chapel of St. James; and the two were thrown into one, forming a building 45 long by 24 wide, divided from east to west by a fine Early English arch. A beautiful arcade runs round the walls, which will be immediately recognised as belonging to the time when Bishop Poore was building the earlier portions of Salisbury Cathedral and the chapel of the nine altars at Durham. The groining of the roof bears the Clare and Despencer arms, which indicate the date of Hugh Despencer and Eleanor de Clare [1321–1337], a date later by a century than that of the fabric itself. Its north western side opened by three fine pointed arches into another Early English chapel, which has entirely disappeared, and which was probably that of St. Eustachius, built by Prior Henry de Banbury in 1246.

This fine double chapel, or at least its southern portion, is the resting place of the Duke of Somerset and other distinguished persons who were victims of Edward IVth's cruelty after the battle of Tewkesbury. It was entirely walled off from the church for a long time, and was then accessible only from the churchyard. Modern tradition has absurdly named it the chapter house, and for many years it was occupied as a grammar school. It was lately in so dismal a condition as to tempt none but an archæologist

TEWKESBURY ABBEY.
Interior of the Choir in 1874.

to enter; but its hoped for restoration, and the opening out of its ancient connection with the transept and choir, will add a splendid feature to the abbey. Any one who undertakes the restoration will also restore to Gloucestershire a very perfect specimen of that lovely Early English style which is so rare in the county.

The Choir.

Small as the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey is for a conventual body, it is very perfect in its proportions, and a very noble one for a parish church. Its length from the reredos to the cross aisle is 66 feet and its width the same as the nave, 33 feet; the proportions of its plan being thus that of two squares, that of the nave central passages being five squares, and the tower area one square.

The basement of the original Norman choir undoubtedly remains, and some at least of the external wall of the ambulatory, but in what way the upper part was constructed cannot be inferred from these remains. It may have been that the choir was only a repetition of the nave as regards the triforium and clerestory. But it is far more probable that it was constructed in a richer form, and that part of its richness consisted in wide triforium openings above the columns,[1] and above them a clerestory formed of arcading such as is seen on the inside and outside of the tower. Perhaps the whole was crowned by an arched stone vault, for the art of building such was not by any means unknown to architects of the twelfth century.

But whatever was the original aspect of the choir, those who loved the abbey and its service desired that its choir should keep pace with the developements of pointed

[1] A blocked-up arch in the south-east pier of the tower may have been the door of the stairs leading to this triforium: which in so small a choir would be useful as a gallery for some members of the monastery. The ritual choir did not perhaps go beyond the constructional choir at that time.

architecture. A re-dedication of the church took place in the year 1239, which seems to have had special reference to the choir from the fact that the high altar is mentioned in the few words with which the annalist records it.[1] Perhaps, therefore, the present choir exhibits the work not of two but three periods, the lower part of the pillars representing the original Norman choir, the upper two courses and the arches above them a thirteenth century choir contemporary with the chapels of Prior Sipton, and the remainder the work of the fourteenth century.

Those who are familiar with the plan of Westminster Abbey will observe that there is a remarkable similarity between its choir and chevet of chapels, and that of Tewkesbury. For those who are not so, a sketch is subjoined in which the two are compared.

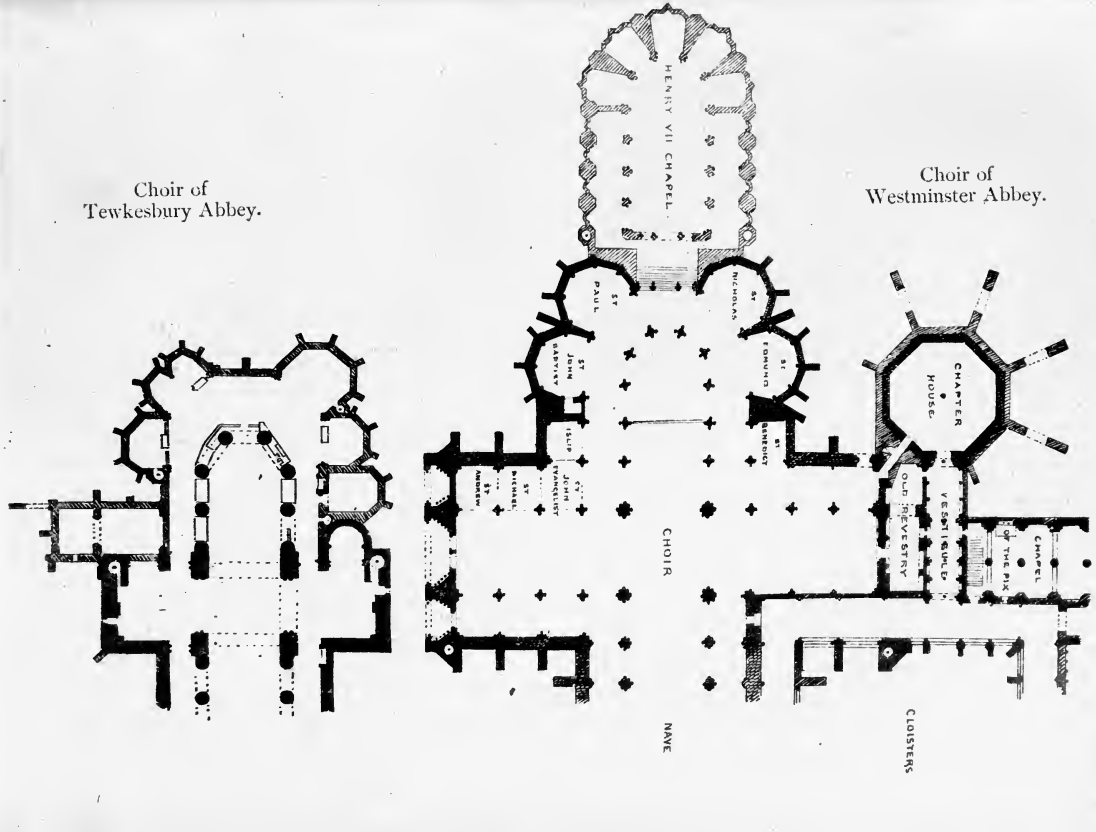
The present apsidal choir of Westminster Abbey, and the chapels surrounding it, including a Lady chapel which was destroyed to make way for Henry VIIth's beautiful structure, were built by Henry III., and date from 1245 to 1269; and it is by no means unlikely that an Early English choir at Tewkesbury should also be surrounded by a similar chevet, the chapels of which were transformed into decorated work, like the choir itself, in the fourteenth century.

However this may have been, it is certain that the upper part of the choir, the windows and the roof, date from the latter part of the fourteenth century, and that the ceiling especially borders on the transition time between decorated and perpendicular work, the last twenty-five years of that century. This would be the time when the Lady Despencer, to whom the Trinity chapel is attributed, was living through her long widowhood, and

[1] 'Dedicata est ecclesia Theokesberiæ cum majori altari in honore gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ, xiv. Kal. Julii, feria vij' [June 18, 1239], 'a venerabili domino Waltero de Cantilupo episcopo Wigorniæ.' In the same year the annalist records the dedication of St. James's Priory, Bristol, Saint Peter's, Gloucester, Winchelcombe, Pershore, and Great Malvern.

Choir of
Tewkesbury Abbey.

Choir of
Westminster Abbey.



holding the manor of Tewkesbury as her dower. Guy de Brien was also either living at Tewkesbury, or in some way closely associated with the abbey. Each of them undoubtedly left their mark upon the church; and it is most likely to one or both of them that the rebuilding of the choir is to be attributed. Lady Despencer lies between the Trinity chapel and the middle of the choir; Guy de Brien was probably buried in St. Margaret's chapel, where his beautiful monument stands.

The several portions of this triple-dated choir are fitted to each other in such skilful harmony, that the massive piers, lightened as they are by the chantries between, seem the best possible support for the windows and roof, while the latter seem the best possible crown to the substructure. But this harmony must have been still more perfect when, the windows being filled with brilliant glass, the ribs of the groining shone out with gold, and the panels were filled with skilfully designed frescoes; the walls themselves being probably decorated all over in the same manner in which the sedilia still are, with subdued colour. The sedilia are the only remaining portion of the ancient altar arrangements: but whatever they were, they would undoubtedly be of such a character as to add greatly to the beauty of the choir.[1] The coloured vault was yellow-washed so recently only as 1828.

[1] The churchwardens' accounts have an entry dated 1726, 'Pd. for taking down old wall at east end of Chancell, and diging foundation for Altar piece, 7*s*.'

Another curious entry is, 'Removing blue stone Communion table from the Body of the Chancell into the Isle, 12*s*. To the men that did it for working all night 2*s*. 6*d*.' This was in 1730, and it is strange to find that the two preceding entries are, 'Steps to Altar, 16*l*. 9*s*. 9*d*.; Floor before altar, 4*l*. 11*s*. 0*d*.'

The blue stone was one found underground in the church in 1607, and when found measured 13 feet, 8 inches long, 3 feet, 6 inches broad, and 7 inches thick. It was then appropriated to the purpose from which it was dismissed by the men who worked at its removal in the dark in 1730; and seems at the latter date to have been cut in two lengthways to form the seats in the Porch.

The seven windows of the choir are still filled with stained glass, most of which is ancient, though it has undergone some patching in modern times. Some of the figures are those of saints and prophets; but there are also eight of the Lords of Tewkesbury, among whom are Fitz-Hamon, several De Clares, and Hugh Despencer. Underneath one's feet lies the dust of those who are represented in the windows above, the De Clares being buried in the midst of the choir in a line with the Warwick chapel, and the Despencers in a line between the Fitz Hamon and the Trinity Chapels. May the souls of these Earls and Barons have more peace where they are gone, than they had while they were living Lords of Tewkesbury.

The Choir Ambulatory.

The aisle, or ambulatory, which surrounds the interior choir of the abbey, is of the same width as the aisles of the nave, and perhaps the exterior wall has undergone little or no change in the course of the alterations made at this end of the church. This ambulatory is a part of the abbey which possesses great interest, for out of it open the inner chantries of the choir on the one hand, and the outer chapels of the chevet on the other.

The abbey has, at one time and another, had a great number of chapels within its walls, and the following is a list of those only which have been found noticed in the course of preparing this volume.

St. Faith's Chapel	St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel
St. James's ,,	St. Mary the Virgin's ,,
St. Nicholas's ,,	St. Margaret's ,,
St. Eustachius's ,,	St. Edmund's ,,
St. Wolstan's ,,	St. George's [in the nave] ,,
St. Martin's ,,	St. John Baptist's ,,
St. Michael's ,,	St. John's [in the nave] ,,
The Trinity ,,	

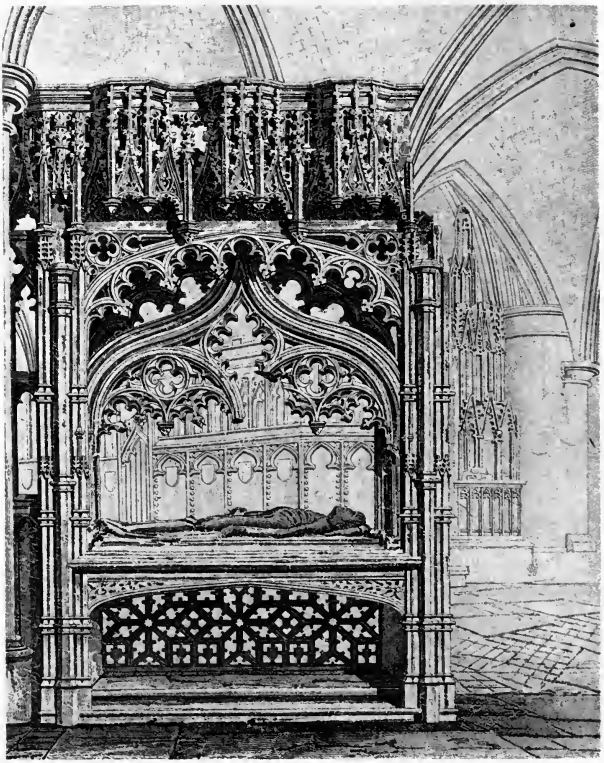
A few of these only can be identified ; and probably some are not now to be recognised as chapels, having been little spaces of the aisles screened off with parcloses of carved wainscot, which have left no trace. That of St. Faith is named as the place in which Berthric, king of the West Saxons, was buried in the year 784, but no subsequent historical notice of it has been found. Reasons have already been given for supposing that the three chapels associated with the north transept were those of SS. Nicholas, James, and Eustachius.

Immediately opposite the magnificent archway which again opens into St. Nicholas' chapel, is the chantry chapel dedicated to SS. Mary Magdalen, Barbara, and Leonard, generally distinguished as the WARWICK CHAPEL. The erection of this by Isabel Despencer in 1422, in memory of her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Abergavenney and Worcester, is spoken of at length at p. 76, and the Latin inscription—which states that she founded the chapel in honour of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, died at the Minories in London on St. John the Evangelist's day 1439, and was buried on the right hand of her father, that is, before the altar—will be found at p. 81. This small chapel was the model for the still more splendid one erected at Warwick, on the banks of the same river Avon on which Tewkesbury Abbey is situated, to the memory of her second husband, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Over the western half of it there is a beautiful fan-tracery ceiling, supported by two slender columns, and finished off at the eastern end with figures of angels. It was, perhaps, intended that the top of this, between the upper floor and the fan-tracery of the upper ceiling, should be occupied in some way, but there is no sign that it was ever used for any purpose whatever. At the east end of the chantry was the altar at which the holy Eucharist was offered daily for the souls of Earl Worcester, the Earl and Countess of Warwick, and their ancestors; and the remains of wall paintings of

figure subjects are discernible there. The decorations are mostly of an heraldic kind, associated with the royal and noble connections of Isabel Despencer and her two husbands. But scrolls were interspersed here and there, of which one remains in the south-west corner, with the legend 'Jesu Mercy,' to temper the pride of ancestry with the humility of the Cross.

The FOUNDER'S CHAPEL stands in the bay next to that of Lord Abergavenney. Earl Fitz-Hamon was originally buried in the chapter house on the east side of the cloisters; but his body and that of Abbot Benedict were removed to this place in 1241 by Abbot Forthington, and the present screen work erected around by Abbot Parker in 1397. The monument bears the matrix of a brass on its surface, which is traditionally said to have represented Fitz-Hamon, and which looks as if it had been that of a helmeted knight. The tiles of the floor all bear the arms of Fitz-Hamon impaling those of the Abbey, the shield being supported on an abbot's staff. The tomb was opened in 1795, and a few bones discovered in a leaden envelope, which were at once assumed to be those of the founder; but whether this is really the founder's tomb or not, is a little open to question. [See p. 59.]

Beyond the founder's chapel are the DESPENCER MONUMENT, and the BRIEN MONUMENT. The first is a table tomb, which fills about two thirds of the bay, and bears the alabaster effigies, once elaborately decorated with gold and colour, of Hugh Lord Despencer and his wife Elizabeth Montacute. Lord Despencer died in 1349, and the monument may have been erected by his widow, who afterwards became the wife of Guy de Brien, Lord Welwyn. The monument of her second husband, De Brien, stands at the entrance of St. Margaret's chapel, immediately opposite to that of her first husband and herself, and she thus, after a fashion, lies between two out of her three husbands. The Brien tomb is evidently a copy of the other: the monumental



Cenotaph of John Wakeman,
Last Abbot of Tewkesbury, 1531—1539, and
First Bishop of Gloucester, 1541.

effigies on both are noble examples of old English sculpture, and the canopies are triumphs of architectural art when it was just on the point of passing from the Decorated to that transition which quickly ended in the Perpendicular style. [See p. 69.] Both these monuments were greatly dilapidated, and were restored in 1828.

St. Margaret's Chapel is screened off from the ambulatory by the Brien tomb. Like the rest of the eastern chapels, it has been so completely stripped that nothing of special interest remains in it. On its western side there is a newel stair leading to the space between the ceiling and the roof of the chapel.

St. Edmund's Chapel is the name generally given to the chapel beyond that of St. Margaret, and is found in connection with it in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, written about the end of the fifteenth century. It is, however, a double chapel, and has probably had two altars and two dedications. What is called the legend of St. Edmund, (king and martyr in 870) is represented in the keystone of the groined ceiling.

At the entrance of this chapel is a beautiful tomb with a canopy of decorated work, underneath which lies a corpse-like effigy of some person as he might be supposed to appear after being some time in the grave. It is generally called the Cenotaph of Abbot Wakeman, the last of the abbots, who afterwards became Bishop of Gloucester and the predecessor of Bishop Hooper who was burned to death at Gloucester. Bishop Wakeman was buried at Forthington, a manor house of the abbey, which he managed to secure, with a very large pension, when all his monks were sent into the world homeless with pittances small enough for experienced ascetics. But Bishop Godwin, who wrote near the time, says that Wakeman built his intended monument on the north side of a little chapel south-east from the altar, where no monument now exists, and if so this cannot be it. It is in some degree im-

probable also that one who took so much care to feather his nest well while living should represent his body as in such a condition when dead: and altogether the tradition wants confirmation.[1] The style of the monument is that of a century earlier than the time of Wakeman, who was abbot from 1531 to 1539, and died in 1549.

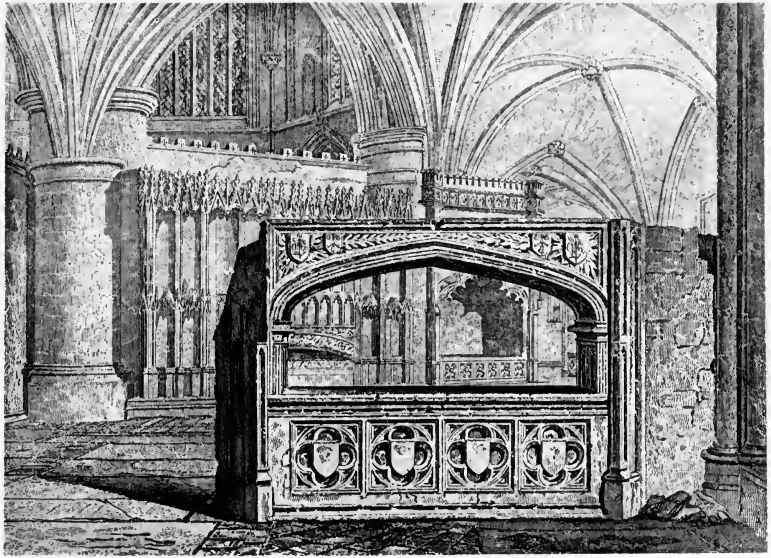
The Vault of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence is between the door of the Lady Chapel and the altar, its entrance being opposite the monument just described. [See page 84 note.]

Respecting the Lady Chapel itself, see page 106, where all that is known about it is set down for the reader's information.

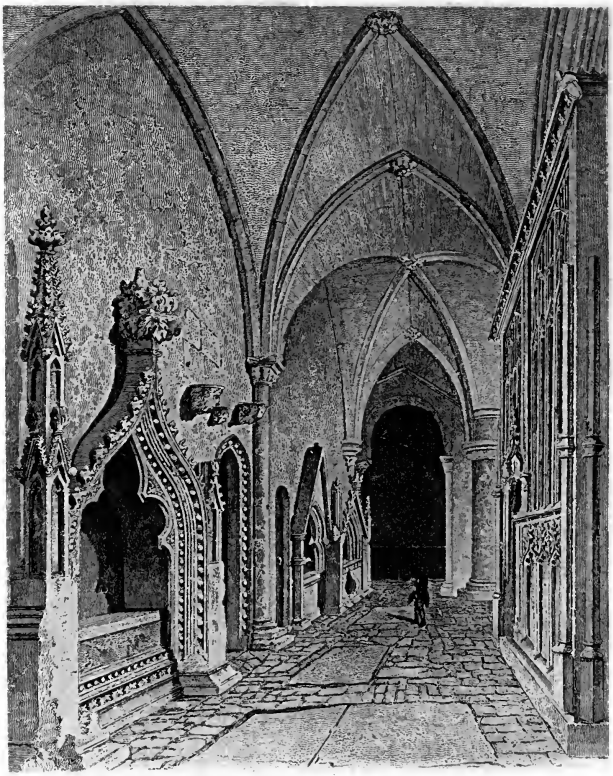
On the south side of the choir there are three polygonal chapels, similar to the others, to none of which can any historial dedication be confidently affixed, though one of them (sometimes the easternmost and sometimes the next westward) is called the Chapel of St. Faith. The third westward is now used as a vestry, and was called the Vestiarium even in the fifteenth century.

At the entrance to the middle of these three chapels is a fine tomb of Perpendicular workmanship: and in the spandrils of the low canopy which surmounts it will be found the arms, pastoral staff, and monogram of Abbot Richard Cheltenham, who presided over the abbey from 1481 until 1509. The monument was in a ruined condition during the last century, and the abbot's figure, which once lay beneath the canopy, has altogether disappeared; but it was restored to its present state in 1828.

[1] The Countess of Warwick ordered her own monument to be adorned with an effigy of herself 'all naked,' which is conjectured at page 80, to mean without her robes of state. It is possible she may have meant such a cadaver as that on this monument, with which she may have been acquainted. A similar corpse in stone is to be found in Dursley Church in the county of Gloucester, and in many of our cathedrals.



Tomb of Richard Cheltenham,
Abbot of Tewkesbury, 1481—1509.



TEWKESBURY ABBEY.
South Aisle of the Choir looking West.

The purbeck marble coffins of two earlier abbots lie at the back of the sedilia opposite to Abbot Cheltenham's tomb. One of these, that to the west, is inscribed 'Johannes Abbas hujus loci,' and is believed to be that John Cotes, who died in 1347. It was opened in 1795, and some fragments of gold tissue were found, the relics of the chasuble which its inhabitant had worn. But the coffin of Abbot Cotes has been placed in this recess at some comparatively recent time. The 'loculus' itself is part of a magnificent monument, which probably commemorated Hugh Despencer the younger. [See page 66.] The other slab has not any marks by which to guess at the occupant of the coffin beneath.

The TRINITY CHAPEL is entered by a door just westward of Abbot John's tomb. This is usually attributed to Lady de Burgersh, widow of Edward Lord Despencer, and the singular kneeling effigy of a knight which is placed under a canopy on the top of it is thought to be that of Lord Despencer himself, who died in 1375. [See page 70.] It was also called the Chapel of St. Mary near the Presbytery: and its lower portion is probably of an earlier date than the rest. On its east end, above where the altar stood, there are still some remains of wall paintings, which represent symbolically the Blessed Trinity, and the Coronation, or reception into Heaven, of the Mother of our Lord. There are also figures of a knight and a lady adoring in the divine presence.

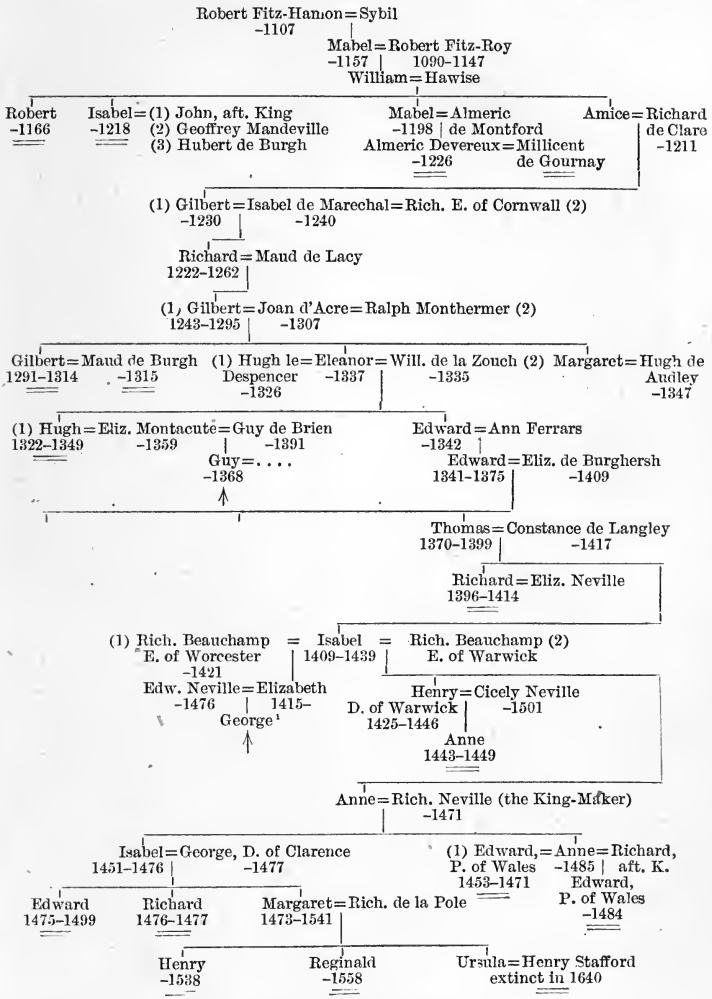
Opposite to the Trinity chapel, on the east side of the door of the vestry, is the tomb of an abbot not identified. On the western side of the same door is the beautiful Early English tomb, the coffin-lid of which is inscribed 'Alanus, Dominus Abbas.' This is the tomb of Abbot Alan, a learned prior of Canterbury, who was translated to Tewkesbury in 1187, and presided over the abbey until 1202. The coffin was opened in 1795, and the abbot in his vestments was seen by the bystanders, with cross

and chalice, as he had been laid there 600 years before. [See page 93.]

Between his tomb and the door of the vestry is a newel stair leading to a chamber above the vestry, which was plainly once inhabited, and where probably lived the hermit whose duty it was to perform those offices within the abbey which are now performed by the sexton.

Our walk round the Abbey is ended; but the observant eye will fill up this sketch with many other objects worthy of notice: and the preceding history of the venerable Abbey and its patrons may enable more careful investigators than the writer to read in much more detail the particulars of a fabric abounding with interest in every corner.

Genealogical Table of the Descendants of Robert Fitz-Hamon.



[1] From whom the Earls of Abergavenny and the Barons Le Despencer are descended.

ABBOTS OF TEWKESBURY.

No.	Name	Date
1	Giraldus, Abbot of Cranbourn	1102–1109
2	Robert	1109–1124
3	Benedict	1124–1137
4	Roger	1137–1161
5	Fromundus	1162–1178
6	Robert the Second	1182–1183
7	Alan, late Prior of Canterbury	1187–1202
8	Walter, late Sacrist	1202–1214
9	Hugh, late Prior	1214–1215
10	Peter of Worcester	1216–1231
11	Robert Forthington, late Prior	1232–1254
12	Thomas de Stokes, Prior of St James', Bristol	1254–1275
13	Richard de Norton	1276–1282
14	Thomas Kempsey	1282–1328
15	John Cotes	–1347
16	Thomas de Legh	1347–1361
17	Thomas Chesterton, late Cellarer	1361–1389
18	Thomas Parker	1389–1421
19	William Bristow	–1442
20	John Abington	[1443]
21	John de Salis	[1468]
22	John Strensham	–1481
23	Richard Cheltenham	1481–1509
24	Henry Beoly	1509–
25	John Walker	–1531
26	John Wyche or Wakeman	1531–1539

EMINENT PERSONS

ASSOCIATED WITH TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

Name	Date	Place of Burial	See page
Theoc the hermit	about 675	Tewkesbury	12
Dudda (Earl of Mercia)	„ 715	Pershore	16
Berthric, King of Wessex	died 799	Tewkesbury	17
Hugh (Earl of Mercia)	„ 812	„	18
Ethelward de Meaux, Earl of Mercia	„ 1016	Cranbourn	19
Algar de Meaux		(Cranbourn)	21
Odda, Earl of Mercia	„ 1056	Pershore	16, 23
Berthric de Meaux	„ 1066	(Winchester)	21
William the Conqueror	1025–1087	Caen	24
Queen Matilda	died 1083		22
William Rufus	1060–1100	Winchester	25
Robert Fitz-Hamon, Earl of Corbeil	died 1107	Tewkesbury	25
Robert Fitz-Roy, Earl of Gloucester	1097–1147	St. James's, Bristol	31, 40
Mabel Fitz-Hamon, Countess of Gloucester	died 1151		41
William Fitz-Count, Earl of Gloucester	„ 1183	Keynsham	42
King John, as Earl of Gloucester	1166–1216	Worcester	44
Isabel Fitz-Count, Countess of Gloucester	died 1218	London	45
Geoffrey Mandeville, Earl of Gloucester	„ 1216		46
Almeric de Montfort, Earl of Gloucester	„ 1221	Keynsham	47
Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford	„ 1211	Clare	48
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford	„ 1230	Tewkesbury	49
Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall and Poitou	„ 1272	Hales	51
Isabel Mareschall, Countess of Gloucester, Hertford, Poitou, and Cornwall	„ 1240	her heart at Tewkesbury	51
Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford	1222–1262	Tewkesbury	54
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford	1243–1295	„	60
Princess Joan d'Acre, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford	died 1307	Clare	61, 63
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford	1291–1314	Tewkesbury	63
Maud de Burgh, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford	died 1315	„	64
Hugh Despencer, Earl of Gloucester	„ 1326	„	66

Name	Date	Place of Burial	See page
Hugh, Lord Despencer . . .	1322–1349	Tewkesbury	67
Elizabeth Montacute, Lady Despencer and Welwyn	died 1359	,,	69
Guy de Brien, Lord Welwyn . .	,, 1390	,,	69
Hugh, Lord Audley	,, 1347	(Tewkesbury)	67
Edward, Lord Despencer . . .	,, 1375	Tewkesbury	70
Elizabeth de Burghersh, Lady Despencer	,, 1409	,,	70
Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester	1370–1399	,,	72
Hugh, Lord de la Zouch . . .	died 1371	,,	66
Elizabeth, Lady de la Zouch . .	,, 1408	,,	66
Richard, Lord Despencer and Burghersh	1396–1414	,,	73
Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Abergavenney and Worcester	died 1421	,,	74
Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Worcester, and Albemarle	1381–1439	Warwick	76
Isabel Despencer, Countess of Warwick, Abergavenney, Worcester, and Albemarle	1400–1439	Tewkesbury	74
Henry Beauchamp, Baron Despencer, Earl of Abergavenny, Duke of Warwick, and King of the Isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey	1425–1446	,,	81
Cicely Neville, Duchess of Warwick, and Countess of Worcester	died 1501	,,	82
Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Salisbury, and Abergavenney, and Baron Despencer (the King-Maker)	,, 1471	Warwick	83
Anne Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, &c. (his widow)	,, 1501		83
George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence	,, 1477	Tewkesbury	84
Isabel Beauchamp, Duchess of Clarence	1451–1476	,,	84
Edward, Prince of Wales, and many noblemen and gentlemen slain at and after the Battle of Tewkesbury and buried in the Abbey	died 1481	,,	91
Anne Beauchamp, his widow, and wife to Richard III.	,, 1485		83
Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury	1475–1499	(St. Peter's, Tower of London)	85
Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury	1473–1541	(St. Peter's, Tower of London)	85

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